

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION

THE SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE

For the past month, the eyes of working people throughout the world have been on Portugal. The on-the-scene reports by Gerry Foley *The Militant* has printed, as well as accounts in the capitalist press, have testified to the strength of the popular upsurge touched off by the fall of the Salazarist dictatorship on April 25.

The replacement of Premier Caetano by the Spínola regime was a

An editorial

calculated move by sections of the Portuguese capitalist class. In the face of the tenacious resistance of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, they finally decided they had no choice but to try to establish some kind of neocolonial relationship with the African colonies in place of direct rule.

But the need to get rid of the 48-year-old Salazarist dictatorship entailed big risks for the Portuguese rulers and big opportunities for the masses of working people.

With the end of the long decades of stifling totalitarian repression, the masses went into motion. They poured into the streets, rejoicing in the perspective of democratic freedoms and determined to make this perspective a reality.

In the celebrations throughout Portugal, the masses began going into action to gain a few elementary improvements. Hundreds of thousands of workers went out on strike when the bosses resisted their demands for higher wages. Rank-and-file soldiers and sailors joined in the mass demonstrations and solidarized with the struggles of the workers for a better life.

Challenges are being raised among the populace to some of the deepest-going prejudices and



Shipyard workers are among thousands who struck for higher wages. Banner at left says 'Stand up and fight like the men that we are.'

forms of repression bred by class society. Women are demanding equal rights. Banners have been raised for the right to divorce. Homosexuals are demanding their rights and recognition of their dignity as human beings. The separation of church and state, a key democratic demand in the long struggle in Portugal against obscurantism and authoritarianism, is once again being advanced.

Spínola faced the problem of how to contain this popular upsurge, the logic of which is clearly to challenge the basis of the capitalist private property system. To succeed in this, the generals needed help. They needed the support of

political forces trusted by the workers. Bidding for this role were the Communist Party, the largest of the organizations enjoying the confidence of the workers, and the smaller Socialist Party.

The CP and SP eagerly took posts in Spínola's coalition government, giving full support to this capitalist regime and siding with Spínola against the rising popular movement. The Portuguese Stalinists deliberately set out to sabotage the wave of strikes and undermine the mobilization of the masses.

With full backing, and no doubt, prompting, from Moscow, they have told the workers *not* to move

into action for their demands, but to sit back and wait, trusting in Spínola to safeguard their interests at the present time, and to eventually grant some concessions.

Parallel to Russian revolution

This situation in Portugal is reminiscent of the situation in Russia in 1917. In Russia there was a similar awakening of the masses, the first consequence of which was the downfall of the hated tsarist regime and an attempt by the bourgeoisie to set up an alternative regime to maintain capitalism. And there was a similar betrayal of the masses by the majority

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

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In Brief

ARSON ATTACK ON MEHDI OFFICES: A fire damaged the offices of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations June 3.

Dr. M. T. Mehdi, head of the organization, charged that the fire was a result of arson by a Zionist group. Mehdi himself was recently attacked by Zionist thugs as he was on his way to a news conference to denounce the Israeli government's decision to storm the school at Maalot and the subsequent terror bombing of refugee camps in Lebanon. Mehdi suffered a fractured spine as a result of this attack.

The burning of the committee's offices is part of a pattern of harassment and intimidation directed against Arabs by Zionist organizations. The report of firemen that they found four "separate and distinct" fires corroborates Mehdi's charge of arson.

UFW supports strike of strawberry pickers

By HOLBROOK MAHN

OXNARD, Calif.—Strawberry pickers are conducting a militant strike here. Three thousand marched in a demonstration June 1 protesting police attacks on their picket lines. At a rally United Farm Workers President César Chávez pledged the full support of the UFW.

The strike of mainly Chicano workers began May 24 when they walked out of the fields to protest being cheated on their pay. They contacted the UFW and set up picket lines, which quickly grew to more than 1,000 workers.

A local judge issued an injunction limiting pickets to 50 at each ranch and stipulating that these keep 50 feet apart. When this failed to intimidate the pickets or slow down the strike, sheriff's deputies and police attacked the picket lines and arrested 31 strikers.

Meanwhile, the growers are in a tight spot. If the harvest is delayed long enough, the growers will have a lot of rotten berries on their hands.

ACLU LAUNCHES GAY RIGHTS PROJECT: The Southern California American Civil Liberties Union has formed an active Gay Rights Project to oppose discrimination against homosexuals.

For some years the ACLU has been filing and supporting lawsuits affecting gay people. Currently there are some 120 cases on the docket nationally.

The ACLU of Southern California has now established an office to take complaints from victims of discrimination. It is also conducting a police observer program relating to gay rights. Recently the police have criticized the monitoring program. The ACLU said that monitoring arrests and police contact with gay people is necessary to protect the individual's civil liberties.

LEAVENWORTH BROTHER CONVICTED: Odell Bennett, one of the Leavenworth Brothers, was recently convicted of resisting a federal officer last August. He faces an additional three years for his "crime," which was refusing to submit to a dehumanizing rectal search.

Bennett, who is Black, was one of seven Leavenworth Brothers indicted following a prison rebellion at the federal penitentiary in Leavenworth, Kans., last July 31. He is charged with mutiny, murder, and conspiracy to riot. Three other Blacks, Jesse Lee Evans, Alf Hill Jr., and Alfred Jasper, face the same charges. Two Chicanos, Jesse Lopez and Armando Miramon, are charged with assault and kidnapping in connection with the revolt.

The seventh Brother, William Hurst, faced the same charges as the two Chicanos. However, early last month Hurst, the only white defendant, was found dead by a prison guard. The guard claims that Hurst hung himself, but none of Hurst's fellow inmates at the Wyandotte County jail in Kansas City saw the alleged suicide.

A spokesman for the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee told The Militant the issue of negligence in regard to Hurst's death is under investigation.

GAINESVILLE EIGHT SUE GOVERNMENT: Last summer the government tried to convict eight members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War of conspiracy to riot at the 1972 Republican national convention. It failed.

Now the Gainesville Eight have filed a \$1.2-million lawsuit against the government prosecutors. The suit points out that the eight were deprived of the constitutional right to due process by the presence of a paid FBI informer in their defense team. The existence of the FBI agent was made known when he was called as a prosecution witness.

The suit, filed May 28 in U. S. District Court in Washington, D. C., also charges that there were other, unidentified informers in the defense team throughout the month-long trial.

PUERTO RICO LIBRE: The newly formed Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee has announced a national mobilization to demand independence for Puerto Rico and

"a bicentennial without colonies." The rally will take place Oct. 27 at Madison Square Garden in New York.

The call for the action says: "The moment of unity is here. It is up to us, people living in the U. S., to make the government stop its illegal and immoral activity in Puerto Rico, to pull out its troops and stop its repressive intervention—to get out of the Puerto Rican people's lives."

Supporters of the rally attending the news conference included Ramon Arbona of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement; Ben Chavis of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Bert Corona of CASA; and Antonio Rodriguez of the National Committee to Free Los Tres.

COMMITTEE FORMED TO EXONERATE ROSENBERGS: A group has been formed to reopen the case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The two were executed 21 years ago, at the height of the McCarthyite witch-hunt. They were charged with giving the "secret" of the atom bomb to the Soviet Union. Another codefendant, Morton Sobell, was given a 30-year sentence.

The National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (NCRRC), according to its national coordinator Marjorie Rosenthal, sees the post-Watergate climate as an opportunity to gain support for the defense effort. She said, "The people now recognize that the White House and the FBI were involved in perjury, forgeries of documents, and illegal break-ins," which will make more people willing to reexamine this case as well as others.

The NCRRC is holding a memorial meeting in New York City at Carnegie Hall June 17 to commemorate the twenty-first anniversary of the Rosenberg executions. Speakers will include Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of the Rosenbergs; Morton and Helen Sobell; Elliott Gould; Mary Travers; and many others.

ATTICA BROTHERS' DEFENSE MOTION DENIED: In a decision handed down May 30, the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court denied a defense motion to dismiss the charges against 61 Attica Brothers.

The attorneys had charged that the Attica proceedings have been vindictive and one-sided.

Defense attorneys, meanwhile, have begun presenting evidence before Supreme Court Judge Gilbert King based on results of an eight-month study of the Erie County jury selection process.

The findings reveal that the process systematically excludes Blacks, women, and young people.

While most of the Attica defendants are young, poor, and Black, the average juror in Erie County, the study found, is a married white man who is more than 40 years old and who owns his own home.

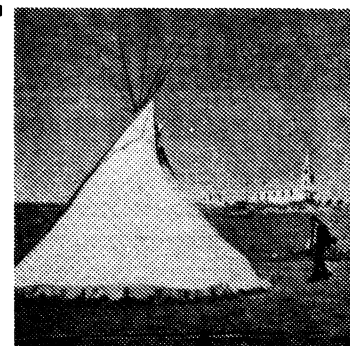
Based on these findings, the defense has charged that the Attica defendants cannot be tried under the present system. They demanded that the present jury selection process be scrapped.

But Judge King, who is expected to rule on the motion within a month, has already said: "The motion is to strike an entire jury pool of more than 100,000 persons. I'm not about to do that on the basis of what may be errors of judgment in a miniscule number of cases."

The 61 Attica Brothers will appear in court in Buffalo beginning June 10. Trial dates are expected to be set at that time.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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Argentine socialists murdered for role in fight for democratic unions

From Intercontinental Press

By JUDY WHITE

On May 30 right-wing goons carried out a new murderous attack against the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International).

At 12:30 a.m. on that date a gang of fifteen thugs, using walkie-talkies and armed with machine guns, clubs, and other firearms, broke into the Pacheco headquarters of the party, beat up the approximately twenty persons present, and kidnapped six PST members.

Antonio Moses, Oscar Dalmacio Mesa, and Mario Sida were forced into the trunks of the goons' cars. Their bodies were found several hours later, after they had been tortured and murdered. Beside the bodies were found nineteen .45 caliber, thirty 9-millimeter, and four .22 caliber shells.

The other three victims, who were women, suffered beatings but were released.

Moses, Mesa, and Sida were young workers and factory delegates in the northern Buenos Aires zone; Moses



Section of April 20 'antibureaucratic plenum' called by plant committees in city of Villa Constitución. The murdered PST members were active in building class-struggle wing in Argentine unions.

For further coverage of Argentina see page 3 of World Outlook section.

and Mesa were metalworkers and Sida, a textile worker.

On May 7, 26-year-old PST member Inosencio Fernández had been gunned down in the same district of the city. Like the most recent victims, Fernández had been involved in struggles by workers against the stranglehold of the Peronist bureaucracy, which rules the unions through gangster methods. He had organized the local opposition slate to these bureaucrats in the March elections of the UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union).

According to the May 31 Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, two additional attacks on the PST occurred in Mar del Plata the same day: Carlos Petroni, a party activist and provisional member of the Frente de Trabajadores Mercantiles (Retail Workers Front), was shot by a group of thugs

as he left the Commerce Employees Center. In a separate incident, a bomb exploded in the local PST headquarters, bringing to ten the total number of violent attacks suffered by the PST in recent months. No injuries were reported but considerable damage was done to the premises.

There has been a wave of terrorist killings of Perón's critics ever since the general returned to Argentina.

It started, in fact, with the Ezeiza airport massacre as Perón's plane touched down after his long exile. Scores were killed and several hundred wounded in what was widely believed to be a right-wing provocation.

These murders have received backhanded support from the Peronist administration. The victims have included left-wing Peronist bureaucrats and presumed members of illegal guerrilla organizations as well as PST members.

The assassinations of Moses, Mesa, Sida, and Fernández, combined with the bombings of headquarters, indicate a well-organized effort against the PST. This may well be linked to its trade-union work. The party has

been actively promoting the formation of a class-struggle tendency in the Argentine labor movement, and has seen some success in winning sectors of the working class to its perspectives.

One of the most important recent struggles the party has been involved in was the metalworkers strike in Villa Constitución. This is the industry that three of the four PST assassination victims worked in.

In the aftermath of a successful strike at the Acindar plant in Villa Constitución, an "antibureaucratic plenum" was called by the local Comisiones Internas (plant committees). At the April 20 gathering, the PST proposed the formation of a national united front of all workers and popular organizations in opposition to attacks from the union bureaucrats and the bosses, and to the repressive legislation passed by the Perón regime. The proposal had already begun to be implemented in the northern Buenos Aires zone where the four PST members were murdered.

Response to the killings of Moses, Mesa, and Sida was rapid and massive: The PST reported work stoppages in several factories and secondary schools that the victims were associated with. According to a May 31 article in the Buenos Aires daily *La Razón*, these were expected to spread to the center of Buenos Aires that afternoon.

Mass student meetings took place only hours after the radio announcement on the discovery of the bodies.

Agustín Tosco, the central leader of the Cordobazo, addressed 2,000 students in the Law School of the University of Buenos Aires in solidarity with the PST the night of May 30.

Statements of support were received by the party's national headquarters from all the left parties.

The Juventud Radical Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Radical [party] Youth) called for the mobilization of all popular sectors as the way to confront the violence.

Student groups and human rights organizations have also solidarized with the PST. Even major bourgeois parties have felt it necessary to condemn the assassinations.

Reacting to mass pressure demanding that the government prosecute the

rightist gang. The Parliamentary Labor Committee of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies (made up of the heads of all parties participating in the parliament) was convened on an emergency basis late on the evening of May 30. The committee condemned the attack and called on the administration to take steps to arrest the murderers.

The PST has launched a campaign to broaden the protest against terrorist acts against the left and trade-union movements in Argentina and has asked for international solidarity messages from other groups and prominent individuals. Such messages may be addressed: Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, 24 de Noviembre 225, Capital Federal, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Mass funeral

Four thousand people attended the funeral for Antonio Moses, Oscar Dalmacio Mesa, and Mario Sida in Buenos Aires June 1, according to the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*. Delegations were present from Villa Constitución, a city that has been a center of antibureaucratic struggle in the unions, and from the metalworkers union, the shipbuilders union, the printers, and many other unions and political groups.

Four members of parliament also attended.

Among the messages read to the funeral meeting was the following from the Socialist Workers Party of the United States:

"The Socialist Workers Party of the United States mourns with you the death of the PST worker-comrades slaughtered by rightist gangsters because of their loyalty to the cause of socialism and the working people.

"We add our voice to the chorus of condemnation of this atrocious assault upon the lives and liberties of the Argentine workers. You can count on the total solidarity of the class-conscious workers within the imperialist colossus.

"Long live the PST [Socialist Workers Party of Argentina] and the JSA [Young Socialist Vanguard]!"



Antilabor thugs serving right-wing Peronist bureaucracy

...the revolutionary socialist perspective in

Continued from page 1

party in the workers movement, the Mensheviks, who supported the bourgeois alternative to tsarism.

After the overthrow of the tsar, the Mensheviks leaped at the chance to form a coalition government with the liberal capitalist politicians. The Portuguese Stalinists aped the Mensheviks in groveling for portfolios from Spínola.

In taking responsibility for the capitalist coalition government set up in Russia, the Mensheviks had to oppose the demands of the Russian workers and peasants for bread, peace, and land—demands the capitalist government could not grant.

The Mensheviks told the workers and peasants they should wait to press their demands and that the present "stage" was one of "consolidating democracy" rather than fighting for social needs. The Stalinists are echoing this Menshevik policy in Portugal today. The same Stalinist-Menshevik policy of supporting a capitalist government led to defeat in Spain in the 1930s and in Chile last year.

Example of the Bolsheviks

The policies of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky in Russia in 1917 offer valuable lessons for the struggle in Portugal.

The Bolsheviks explained that the capitalist government could not grant the pressing demands of the masses, which could only be won by the workers and peasants establishing their own government and carrying out a socialist revolution.

As is the case with revolutionists in Portugal today, the Bolsheviks were a small minority in the Russian workers movement at the time of the February revolution. The first wave of popular upsurge brought to the fore the old parties, whose authority among the workers stemmed from past work in the underground. But the Bolsheviks had confidence that new experiences in the class struggle would soon teach the workers that the Mensheviks did not represent their interests.

The Bolsheviks demonstrated in ac-



Soldiers and sailors (right) join Lisbon demonstration for end to African wars. Main banner demands, 'Give the power to the liberation movements—Immediate withdrawal of troops.' Behind it is banner of the Trotskyist Internationalist Communist League.

tion how to overcome the political obstacles that stood in the way of the Russian masses. The example is instructive in light of the broad parallels with the unfolding Portuguese revolution.

Three main areas should be noted:

Out of Africa now!

The first is the country's involvement in the African wars. Although Russia in 1917 was engaged in an inter-imperialist conflict, while Portugal has been waging a war of colonial aggression, the parallel holds in many ways.

One of the main reasons the masses switched their allegiance from the Mensheviks to the Bolsheviks was because the Bolsheviks consistently pressed the struggle for an immediate end to the war.

The Mensheviks refused to get out of the war because of their commitment to the coalition government with the capitalists and landlords, who insisted on defending the imperialist interests of Russian capitalism.

Similarly, the Portuguese Stalinists are now providing a "left" rationale for Spínola's maintenance of Portuguese troops in the colonies while he tries to extract as many concessions as possible out of the African liberation fighters.

Portuguese workers, sailors, soldiers, and students—with African workers in Portugal in the forefront—are already raising the demands: Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Portuguese troops and police forces from the colonies! Immediate independence for Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands!

The working unity, now visible in embryonic form, between the workers, soldiers, sailors, students, and urban poor can take clearer shape as demonstrations for an end to the colonial wars gain impetus in face of Spínola's persistence in a neocolonialist "solution."

The soldiers still forced to remain in the colonies are certain to view this process sympathetically and to link up with it. That was also part of the logic of the Russian revolution. This process would also give a big impulse to the intertwined national liberation and class struggles in the colonies.

The rank-and-file soldiers and sailors, who are directly affected by the wars and who have the capacity to bring them to an abrupt end, will be strongly inclined to resist any reneging by Spínola on his promises to bring peace. Many will want to assert their democratic rights to hold assemblies to discuss the government war policies, and to demonstrate against the wars and against the sending of new troops to fight in Africa.

The second area in which the Bolshevik example is instructive concerns the government. Spínola's capitalist coalition government is cast in the same mold as the coalition government between capitalist parties and

workers parties in Russia in 1917. The Stalinists have merely covered the reality with their particular label, "people's front government," or Spínola's label, "government of national salvation."

No support to provisional government!

In 1917 the Bolsheviks said, "This is not our war, but a war serving the imperialists." And they added, "This is not our government, but a government of the capitalists and landowners." They refused to give such a government an ounce of political support or take any responsibility for its actions.

Against the Mensheviks' coalition with the capitalist forces, the Bolsheviks called for a united front of workers parties. Even when they were a minority in the workers councils, the Bolsheviks called on the Mensheviks, who had a majority, to form a government excluding all capitalist parties. In this way they exposed the treacherous policies of the Mensheviks and won the political confidence of the workers.

A parallel approach obviously holds for Portugal today. The logic of the popular upsurge itself can generate sentiment in favor of the CP and SP ending their support to the Spínola government and taking the road to socialism.

The Bolsheviks called for rapid elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution, as against the Menshevik line of foot-dragging on such elections while they shored up the capitalist provisional government.

Democratically conducted elections to a constituent assembly are urgently needed now in Portugal. Why should the masses have to wait for a year, as Spínola proposes, while his self-appointed provisional government moves against the workers movement and refuses to bring Portuguese troops home from the colonies?

In Portugal today the CP has wide support. Why, then, does it not at once get together with the other workers parties and form a government?



Russia, 1917. Bolshevik banner reads 'Down with the capitalist ministers,' expressing opposition to coalition government with capitalist politicians.

Portugal

What does Spínola represent, apart from elements of the Salazarist regime the people have repudiated? Why should the workers be asked to subordinate themselves to this fascist-trained general and his backers among the monopolists and landlords?

Need for soviets

The third area in which the Russian revolution offers a prototype well worth studying in relation to the perspective in Portugal concerns giving effective organizational form to the mass struggle.

When the traditional workers organizations proved too narrow to mobilize the required forces, in view of the scope of their struggle, the Russian workers—first in 1905 and again in 1917—organized broad councils (the Russian word was "soviets"). These included all workers, unionized and nonunionized, as well as all allies of the workers—the unemployed, the peasants, and the soldiers and sailors. These councils were completely democratic. Because of this, they were able to centralize the struggles of all the layers allied to the workers and unite their fighting capacities against the capitalists.

Already the Portuguese workers have taken some steps in this direction. In many factories workers have held assemblies on the job to discuss how to defend, utilize, and extend the new freedoms. They moved swiftly against the officials appointed by the Salazarist regime in the government-controlled unions, calling for the establishment of free unions.

Clearly, it is but a small step from this to organizing regular assemblies and interlinking them through councils. And just as clearly, these assemblies and councils would soon become the central arena in which the workers and their allies would discuss all the burning economic and political questions now facing them, and organize to solve them.

Through such councils, for example, the workers could press for greater and greater control over production and distribution where the capitalists proved unwilling or unable both to continue organized production and provide a living wage for their workers. This would provide the best answer to Spínola's charges that strikes mean anarchy or disruption of the economy.

Importance of leadership

On the political level, the utter unreliability of the Communist and Socialist parties, the treacherous nature of their class-collaborationist policies, and the need to replace them can become apparent to many working-class militants. This would create favorable conditions to organize a new leadership genuinely committed to fighting for the interests of the oppressed and exploited.

Here again the Russian revolution offers immense lessons, the main one being the example set by Lenin in constructing the Bolshevik Party.

By the sweep of their response to the downfall of Salazarism, the Portuguese masses have already set a new example for the workers of the world—not least of all in Francoist Spain.

Will the Portuguese masses now repeat at the opposite end of Europe the pattern seen in Russian in 1917? It would be hazardous at this point to say that it is inevitable. But the potential is there; and the perspective that is implied is such as to make Portugal a source right now of the greatest hope and inspiration for revolutionists everywhere.

Condemn role of church officials in upholding Salazarist dictatorship

By CAROLINE LUND

A new assault is being mounted in Portugal against remnants of the authoritarian Salazarist regime. Church members in this predominantly Roman Catholic country are organizing against reactionary elements in the church hierarchy who were among the staunchest backers of the Salazarist dictatorship. Five hundred Catholics gathered in the city of Oporto and demanded that all the country's bishops resign.

Their statement charged that "with rare exceptions, the present Portuguese bishops have collaborated with the former regime, both by carrying out its orders or defending its ideology, and by deciding not to denounce its many insults to human dignity, which ranged from providing moral cover for war to open protection of capitalist exploitation."

Rank-and-file Catholics are also demanding abolishment of the Concordat concluded between the Vatican and Salazar. The Concordat codified the forms of cooperation between the government and the church hierarchy in repressing the Portuguese masses.

Groups not associated with the church are also fighting for the abrogation of the Concordat because of its prohibition of divorce for all church marriages.

The agitation for the right to divorce and for separation of church and state is only the latest in the series of pro-

tests that have swept Portugal since the April 25 military coup. In face of widespread demonstrations and strikes, the ruling military clique and their Communist and Socialist party partners in the government launched a campaign of denunciations and threats against the workers movement.

Last week a representative of the armed forces announced that the military brass were "disgusted and almost frightened by the ingratitude" shown by those who were making the "wrong use" of their new freedoms.

Portuguese President António de Spínola told a crowd in the northern city of Oporto that the strikes meant "anarchy" and "economic chaos" and were playing into the hands of "reactionaries and counterrevolutionaries."

At the same time, the Portuguese Communist Party issued a statement the *New York Times* described as "in language similar to that used by the President." The CP also condemned strikers and tried to whip up sentiment against militants by urging workers to "unmask demagogues and adventurers" who proposed strike action.

This campaign to confuse and intimidate the workers movement culminated with a demonstration June 1 in support of Spínola's military-backed government. The main slogan was "We say no to strikes."

The action was reportedly sponsored by the main Portuguese trade-union

federation and the Communist Party, among other organizations. "Several thousand" participated, according to *New York Times* reporter Paul Hofmann.

This strikebreaking campaign by the CP and the military has apparently had an effect in getting workers back on the job, but many have returned to work only after winning significant concessions.

Many workers remain uncomfortable with Spínola's arbitration schemes and stalling on wage demands. The 5,000 transit workers in Lisbon agreed to go back to work while continuing to negotiate on their demand for an 80 percent wage increase. Subway workers, who earlier won a 50 percent pay hike through strike action, are "restless," according to *Times* writer Paul Hofmann, because their pay increases have not yet materialized.

Although the Communist Party is the strongest force in the unions at the present time, the Stalinists face growing opposition from union militants, according to a May 31 *Washington Post* dispatch from Lisbon. "Communist officials have complained privately that extreme leftists are undermining their union control," the article stated.

Various left-wing groups mobilized 8,000 people in a rally at the Lisbon Coliseum last week demanding independence for Portugal's African colonies and socialist measures.

Africans insist on independence

The Portuguese government of General António de Spínola has not made much headway so far in its attempts to rope the freedom fighters in its African colonies into a neocolonialist relationship.

Talks with representatives of the African liberation groups are being conducted by Foreign Minister Mario Soares, a leader of the Socialist Party.

For more on struggle against Portuguese colonialism, see By Any Means Necessary column on page 12.

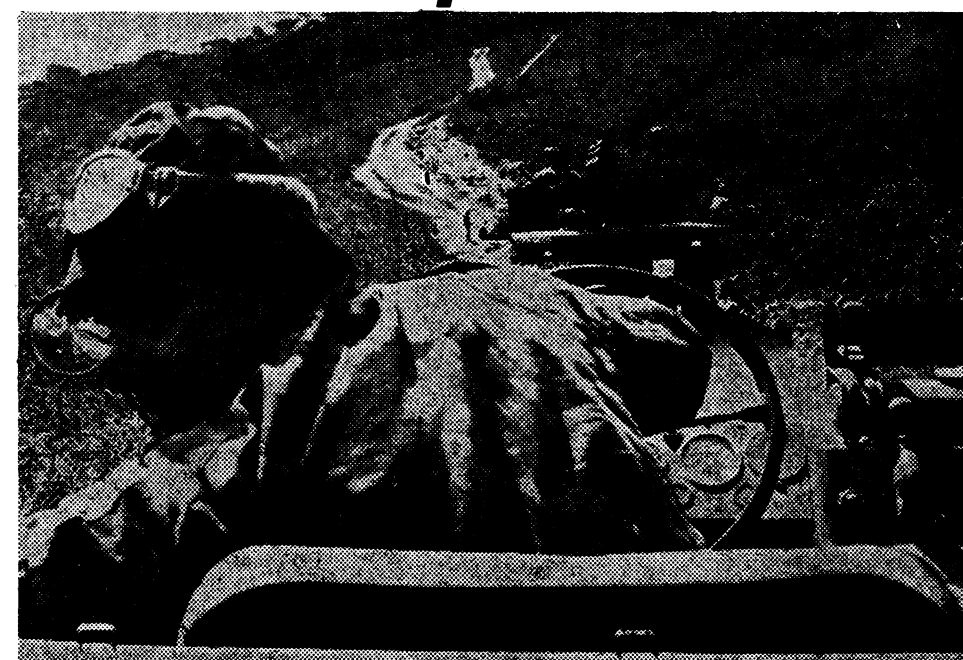
This "socialist" is acting as the emissary of Spínola, the colonial-war hero and mastermind of the assassination of Amílcar Cabral and other African liberation leaders.

Negotiations between Soares and representatives of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) adjourned May 31 for an eight-day recess. Issues snagging the discussions were said to be Lisbon's insistence on maintaining control over the Cape Verde Islands, and its conditioning independence on the outcome of a referendum.

On June 5 Soares was to meet for "exploratory talks" with leaders of Frelimo, the Mozambique liberation movement. Frelimo President Samora Machel made the position of his organization clear in a June 2 statement.

"We are not going to discuss independence with the Portuguese," said Samora. "That is our inalienable right. Our position on this is clear. The Portuguese must negotiate with Frelimo to study the mechanism of transmitting power to the Mozambiquan people and the leadership of Frelimo."

He concluded: "Peace in Mozambique is inseparable from independence."



Portuguese troops on patrol in Angola. Soldiers' desire to go home parallels desire of African peoples to run their own countries.

In the month since the Spínola coup the guerrillas in Mozambique have stepped up their armed resistance to Portuguese aggression.

In Angola, where three different liberation groups exist, rebels have not as yet accepted the Portuguese government's request for cease-fire talks.

Black Angolans have stepped up their demands against the Portuguese colonial administration. The May 31 *Washington Post* reported that railways were paralyzed in Angola by a strike of 13,000 railroad workers. They are demanding wage hikes of from 50 to 100 percent.

Blacks have also mobilized in demonstrations demanding that the colonial administration disarm the white settlers. Whites in Angola can easily obtain licensed weapons. The commander of Portuguese forces, General Franco Pinheiro, refused this demand,

claiming it would "exacerbate tension."

Meanwhile armed bands of whites have been deliberately provoking clashes with Blacks in an attempt to sabotage any progress toward independence. *New York Times* writer Henry Kamm wrote in a May 28 dispatch that by provoking a major confrontation, "the [white] extremists hope for intervention by South Africa and Rhodesia and secession of a white-dominated Angola."

On May 29 John Vorster and Ian Smith, heads of the white-supremacist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, got together for "candid discussions," most probably about the developments in Mozambique and Angola. In a clear threat aimed at Black liberation fighters in those countries, Vorster told reporters "It is not in our interests that there should be chaos in any neighboring country."

Palestinians face new threat

Mideast pact big gain for U.S. imperialism

By DAVE FRANKEL

"... a mission of peace and mediation without parallel," "a classic example of diplomatic technique," rhapsodized the *New York Times* in its evaluation of the Syrian-Israeli troop disengagement agreement.

The praise pouring out of the rest of the capitalist press as well as from Democratic and Republican party politicians was no less fulsome. The *Wall Street Journal* called the pact "Kissinger's most impressive achievement to date." "... an enormous diplomatic triumph," said the *Christian Science Monitor*, while congressional leaders gave Kissinger and Nixon standing ovations before and after a White House briefing on the agreement.

There is no denying that the imperialists in Washington have reason to crow. But for supporters of Palestinian self-determination and of a socialist Middle East governed by and in the interests of the mass of its population, a more sober assessment is in order.

Washington has one basic aim in the Arab East and everywhere else: the consolidation and expansion of its economic and political power. That is what the Kissinger agreement is aimed at securing, not peace.

The immediate effects of the pact will be to open up new opportunities for U.S. economic penetration of the Arab world and to pave the way for an escalation of the pressure on the Palestinian people for them to give

for probably increased Israeli reprisals. ...

"United Nations sources here privately predicted the Israeli offensive against the guerrilla presence in south Lebanon would be increased."

Israeli forays, such as those that resulted in the death of some 80 people following the Maalot attack, were given Washington's blessings as part of the troop disengagement deal. On June 3 the State Department acknowledged as true the claim by Golda Meir that "the United States will not consider such actions ["reprisals"] by Israel as violations of the cease-fire, and will support them politically." A pledge of continued U.S. military and economic aid to Israel was also part of the deal.

In addition, Syrian President Hafez Assad agreed to clamp down on the Palestinians in Syria. Flora Lewis reported in the *New York Times* June 1, "... Mr. Assad told Mr. Kissinger that he could not make an open commitment on the actions of the Palestinians. But he was said to have added that Syria was an organized country and would either make war or observe the cease-fire.

"Other diplomatic sources reported that Mr. Assad had told the Palestinian guerrilla groups in Syria that they were to stop their attacks on Israel."

Assad's assurances, noted Lewis, "were described as a vital part of the final breakthrough to the disengagement agreement. ..."



Syrian President Assad (right) has agreed to help suppress Palestinians.

negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict that these governments now advocate. This perhaps is the most important single result of the agreement."

The strategy of using the Arab governments as well as Israel in policing the Palestinians has been central to Washington's plans for a Mideast settlement from the beginning. As the *Christian Science Monitor* explained in its May 16 editorial, "a settlement between Israel and Syria would isolate the splinter groups, deprive them in part at least of congenial natural environment in which to operate and make it possible for defense forces to concentrate against the irreconcilable radicals."

Geneva and Palestinians

In pressuring the Palestinian organizations to attend the Geneva conference the Syrian and Egyptian regimes are attempting to use them as an adjunct to their own political maneuvers. They talk about the possibility of the Palestinians fighting for their rights at Geneva, but this would entail recognizing the legitimacy of the Israeli colonial-settler state and thus abandoning the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

The pressures on the Palestinians have resulted in substantial divisions among the guerrilla organizations, with a majority reportedly prepared to attend the Geneva talks if the conference agrees to seat them as a delegation on an equal footing with the others and to take up "the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people."

Washington's stake

In evaluating the effect of the disengagement agreement, Henry Tanner wrote in the June 1 *New York Times*, "The United States, which had been virtually absent from the Arab world for more than 20 years, is riding higher than ever."

"In general the agreement has increased the influence of the moderate Arab leaders who favor a negotiated settlement with Israel."

The degree of ongoing U.S. involvement in the agreements taking shape in the Mideast is indicated by the fact that both the Egyptian-Israeli and Syrian-Israeli troop disengagement pacts are being supervised by U.S.

reconnaissance planes.

American businessmen and State Department officials are openly voicing their expectations that Damascus will follow the example of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and open its doors to imperialist investment. *Christian Science Monitor* writer Dana Adams Schmidt refers to the "new political vistas ... being opened up for the United States by the dynamics of disengagement agreement between Israel and Syria. ..."

It is widely recognized in the capitalist press that Kissinger's efforts on behalf of U.S. imperialism were helped along by Moscow. As the conservative *U.S. News & World Report* admitted in its June 10 issue, "even though the major credit goes to Mr. Kissinger for negotiating the Israeli-Syrian agreement, observers consider it extremely doubtful that he could have succeeded without the co-operation of the Russians."

The Soviet bureaucrats hailed the agreement; the *Daily World*, organ of their followers in the U.S., echoed the capitalist press in lauding the pact as "an important step toward peace in the Middle East," which "deserves the support of our nation."

But the collaboration of the Soviet bureaucrats with imperialism will not help the cause of peace, nor will it enhance the military security of the Soviet Union. To the extent that détente succeeds in delaying the march of the Arab revolution, the position of imperialism is strengthened. The expanding diplomatic, military, and economic penetration of the U.S. in the Arab East will enable it to intervene more readily and more vigorously than before when future mass upsurges threaten its interests.

U.S. troops were landed in Lebanon in 1958, and there were threats of U.S. intervention in 1956, 1970, and 1973. Kissinger's so-called peace mission, and the help of the Soviet bureaucracy, make a future confrontation even more likely than before.

Most important, the utopian perspective of attaining a Mideast peace settlement around a conference table in Geneva will fail because the capitalist system offers no way forward for the Arab masses.

The Palestinians will continue to struggle against their dispossession, and the Arab peoples throughout the region will continue to fight against their exploitation by imperialism and its local allies. The success of those struggles is the real basis for peace in the Middle East.



Kissinger, Golda Meir, and Israeli officials gloating over deal with Syria

up their struggle.

In the long run, however, as long as imperialism and Israeli settler-colonialism exist in the area, the Arab revolution will burst out once again. The Kissinger agreement, by enabling the United States to expand its role in the Middle East, increases the danger that the imperialists in Washington will risk a full-scale nuclear war in defense of their growing economic and political interests there.

Green light for 'reprisals'

The most ominous aspect of the pact in the immediate sense is that it gives the Israeli regime a green light to continue or even step up its murderous assaults against the Palestinian people. Israeli jets raided Palestinians in southern Lebanon even as the U.S.-negotiated pact was being signed in Geneva.

"Lebanon's relief that the fighting in neighboring Syria is ending," reported John Cooley from Beirut in the May 31 *Christian Science Monitor*, "was mingled with apprehension at being the last sanctuary of the Palestine guerrillas and therefore a target

One of the central targets of the U.S.-Israeli "understanding" is the Arab population of Lebanon, especially the Palestinians. The scope of this threat was indicated May 30 when Israeli officials told *New York Times* reporter Terence Smith that they interpreted the agreement with Kissinger as a U.S. "pledge to block—with its veto if necessary—any punitive sanctions the United Nations Security Council might attempt to apply against Israel in the wake of an Israeli anti-guerrilla operation."

The implication is that the Israeli regime may be considering an attack of such ferocity that it believes that the UN Security Council might respond by voting punitive sanctions—something that it has never invoked against Israel in the past.

The threats from Israel, however, remain only one aspect of the pressures being mounted against the Palestinians. As *New York Times* reporter Henry Tanner explained June 1, "The leaders of the Palestinian movement face the vital choice of defying the most powerful Arab governments or taking part in the move toward a



'Clamp, screwdriver, tweezers, wrench ...'

52 groups on secret new list

Saxbe abolishes official 'subversive' list

By LEO STANFORD

At a June 4 news conference, Attorney General William Saxbe announced that the Nixon administration was abolishing the attorney general's list of so-called subversive organizations.

At the same time, however, the Justice Department announced that the FBI has compiled a new, secret list of 52 organizations that are under "investigation" as possible "subversive" groups.

In getting rid of the old list, the Nixon gang has decided to scrap one of the most vulnerable and frequently attacked weapons in the arsenal of government witch-hunting. The usefulness of the list to the government had been severely curtailed as a result of court decisions that, among other things, made it effectively impossible to add new groups to the list.

In 1951 the Supreme Court ruled that no new organizations could be added to the list without a hearing, a right that had been denied groups placed on the list when it was first drawn up in 1947.

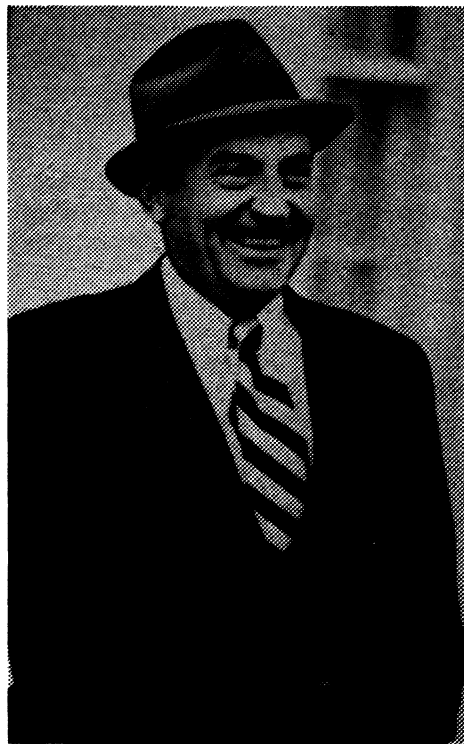
As a result, no new groups have been added since the mid-1950s.

In addition, some of the groups on the list, most notably the Socialist Workers Party, have been waging a vigorous battle to have the list abolished. A challenge to the constitutionality of the list is a major element in the suit filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance to force a halt to government surveillance, harassment, and attempted intimidation of socialists and other opponents of government policy.

In an earlier lawsuit, the SWP sought to prevent the firing of SWP members

employed in the post office and other federal jobs. That case, brought in 1970 by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on behalf of the SWP and one of its members who had been fired from the post office, resulted in a partial victory. Although the list itself was not thrown out, the courts did rule that merely citing the fact that a federal employee was a member of a group on the list was not sufficient grounds for firing him or her.

As a result of this court decision, the government was forced to modify its standard questionnaire presented to job applicants. In addition to asking



SAXBE: A tactical retreat on gov't black-listing.

about membership in groups such as the SWP and the Communist Party, the new questionnaire adds "... which during the period of your membership you knew was advocating" overthrowing the government.

The use of this question will continue, the Justice Department has announced, although government agencies will not be permitted to refer to the old attorney general's list.

In his news conference, Saxbe tried to pose as an advocate of civil liberties, playing the role for all it was worth. According to the *Washington Post*, Saxbe "said the most serious failing of the 1947 executive order by President Truman establishing the list is that [it] permitted the Department of Justice to assemble it without the considerations for due process that were later ordered by the Supreme Court."

"If the list serves no other purpose now, it should continue to be a reminder that whatever we do must be fair and in full accord with the law and the protections it affords to all," the Attorney General said.

Saxbe delicately left it to one of his subordinates to casually inform the press at a briefing following the news conference that the attorney general's high-minded phrases have "no effect on the 52 organizations the FBI has under investigation."

When the startled reporters—who had never before heard of the list of 52—asked what groups were on the new list, Kevin Maroney, an assistant attorney general, declined to answer on the grounds that it is a secret list!

And when he was asked if this didn't amount to a new version of the "subversive" list, Maroney "explained" that

the new list was not really a list at all, since it wasn't written down.

Maroney added that the FBI would continue its "surveillance" of the 52 organizations.

In a statement released June 5, Debby Bustin and Maceo Dixon, co-chairpeople of the Socialist Workers 1974 Campaign Committee, warned of the dangers inherent in the listing of 52 groups as targets for surveillance: "FBI investigation," means that 52 organizations, including the SWP, will remain the victims of wiretaps, burglary, spying, job harassment, and sabotage. It means that a government 'subversive' list in fact still exists, only this time it is secret.

"Because of this, the Socialist Workers Party will continue to mobilize opposition to these government policies and press forward with our civil liberties suit demanding a complete halt to all forms of harassment against our party, its supporters, and other opponents of the Nixon administration."

Far from abandoning the goals and methods of the witch-hunters, Nixon and Saxbe are merely engaging in a maneuver, trying to come up with an updated list that would not be subject to challenge. However, the fact that they have been forced to abandon the "official" list does represent a real victory for civil liberties.

It will be difficult, especially in the current atmosphere of heightened sensitivity to democratic rights, to use the new, "informal" list of 52 in the same way the old list was used. Nonetheless, the fight to end once and for all government blacklists is far from over.

Shankerites join racist move

Suit aims to overturn NEA minority quotas

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK—Ever since the merger talks between the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers broke down last February, the AFT leadership, under Albert Shanker's influence, has been waging open war against the NEA. The Shankerite weapons have included public abuse, raiding operations, and court suits.

One of the most serious of these challenges is the conjoining by the New York State United Teachers in a suit initiated against the NEA by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith. This court action, announced last January, is aimed at striking down amendments to the NEA constitution that provide preferential treatment for oppressed minorities in the selection of officers and leadership bodies.

These provisions were adopted last year and are scheduled to go into effect at the NEA's national Representative Assembly, which begins later this month.

The amendments provide that the board of directors and all committees must include a minimum of 20 percent membership from oppressed minorities. All delegations to the Representative Assembly must include representation of these minorities "at least equal to the proportion of identified ethnic-minority populations within the state." Groups designated as ethnic-minorities by the NEA include "Black, Mexican-American (Chicano), other Spanish-speaking groups, Oriental and Indian."

If after 11 years no member of an oppressed minority has served as president, nominations at the subsequent Representative Assembly shall be restricted to members of such groups.

According to a report in the *March American Teacher*, published by the AFT, these very reasonable measures for attempting to rectify past discrimination are characterized by the ADL as "reprehensible and retrogressive" racism.

Shanker, president of the New York City United Federation of Teachers, put what he considers the danger of the NEA quotas into broader context in a union-paid column in the *New York Times* last December, entitled "The Quota Principle: Dangerous Arithmetic... And Twisted Logic."

The former math teacher wrote: "The quota spirit having found a haven in the NEA Constitution, the director of the organization's teacher rights program, Samuel Ethridge, proceeded to give it considerably wider play in a speech on October 19 at the annual convention of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History."

This "wider play," according to Shanker, was Ethridge's insistence "that about 211,000 more minority group educators must be hired by the nation's public schools in order to 'bring about equity and parity' for minorities. The 'equity and parity' theme, which pervaded his speech, was based on one flat assumption—that the proportion of black, Spanish-

speaking, American Indian and Asian-American teachers in each city and state school system must be equal to the proportion of minority students in the public schools in each of these localities."

Ethridge's "twisted logic of quotas," Shanker claims, leads him to attack New York state as "standing at the head of the class as the greatest discriminator of all..." This hits home, and Shanker squeals, "But teachers are not hired from the student population. They are hired from the adult population—and not from the general adult population, but from those who have graduated from college and have acquired specific professional skills."

This formula avoids reference to the difficulty Blacks and Puerto Ricans have in acquiring these "professional skills" in New York City's racist school system—a system Shanker helps to perpetuate.

The fact is that if Blacks and Puerto Ricans were hired in proportion to their population in New York City, it would upset the tidy white job trust Shanker has established and jealously protects.

But the Shankerites aren't the only ones in the AFT who oppose quotas for oppressed minorities. David Selden, AFT president, and the founder of Teacher's Cause, a caucus in the union to fight Shanker's attempt to take over the presidency at the AFT's convention in August, also opposes quotas.

At a news conference following the breakoff of merger talks with the NEA,

Selden condemned NEA's constitutional provision for quotas. According to the *March American Teacher*, he told reporters that the NEA "wanted it in the constitution of the merged organization. We say that this is really an illegal quota, and while we favor affirmative action, we are opposed to percentage quotas for ethnic and racial minorities."

It is clear from this statement that the AFT's racist opposition to preferential treatment was a roadblock to uniting the country's teachers. By joining suit with the ADL, the AFT bureaucrats have increased the obstacles to unity.



Although Shanker and Selden have differences on other issues, they see eye-to-eye on opposition to hiring quotas for Black, Puerto Rican, and other minority teachers.

New memos link FBI to Hampton death

By BAXTER SMITH

During a secretive meeting at a bar in the Chicago Loop Dec. 2, 1969, FBI special agent Roy Mitchell unveiled before Illinois state's attorney's agents a sketch of the floor plan of a Black Panther Party apartment. The sketch was based on information Mitchell had learned from Panther informant William O'Neal.

Scrawled on the sketch near a bed in one of the rooms were the words "Hampton and Johnson sleep here."

The bar meeting occurred just two days before the murder of Fred Hampton. Hampton died in a hail of police bullets as he slept with his companion, Deborah Johnson, when a party of heavily armed state's attorney's agents raided the apartment, killing and wounding its occupants in a "search" for illegal weapons.

News of the meeting was made public in recently released FBI documents on the Chicago Black Panther Party. The memos and sketch were forced to light as a result of a suit filed by the parents of Hampton and the other slain Panther, Mark Clark.

The documents provide stinging new evidence of FBI involvement in the murder of Hampton. They reflect the great fear and hatred the FBI and the rulers of this country harbor for the Black liberation movement and the

Panthers. This was in line with orders contained in the FBI's "Counterintelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) documents that urged the "disruption" of the Black Panther Party.

Timing of raid

Mitchell received the details of the floor plan from O'Neal on Nov. 19, 1969. The same day, Mitchell passed this information to members of the Chicago police department's Gang Intelligence Unit. This unit mapped plans for a raid.

On Nov. 23, 1969, however, Mitchell learned from O'Neal that the Panthers had knowledge that the Gang Intelligence Unit was planning a raid. He wrote in a Dec. 12 memo that O'Neal also told him the Panthers had removed the guns from the apartment and, hoping to foil the raid, had hooked up a movie camera to film it.

The Gang Intelligence Unit then called off the raid. But on Dec. 1, according to Mitchell, O'Neal told him the guns were back in the apartment. Mitchell then set up the meeting with state's attorney's agents and showed them the sketch of the apartment's layout.

Around this time, a state court upheld a conviction of Hampton dating back to the summer when he had hijacked an ice cream truck and distributed \$71 worth of its contents to neighborhood children free of charge.

Unbeknownst to Hampton, the court was planning to order him to return to prison around the middle of December.

Previous to this, Hampton had vowed never to return to prison. In a recent interview, Flint Taylor, one of the Hampton family attorneys, suggested that with the prospect of Hampton being jailed, Mitchell decided in concert with the state's attorney's office that the raid must be now or never.

One of the documents discloses that after the raid, a vial of phenobarbital was found in the bullet-pocked apartment. According to the May 31 *New Times* magazine, O'Neal has reportedly boasted that he had drugged both Hampton and Clark prior to the raid.

Deborah Johnson, Hampton's companion, said that during the raid, she tried to rouse him from his slumber, but he could barely lift his head. An early coroner's report found a high, possibly lethal concentration of secobarbital in Hampton's blood, but the official Cook County coroner's report denied this.

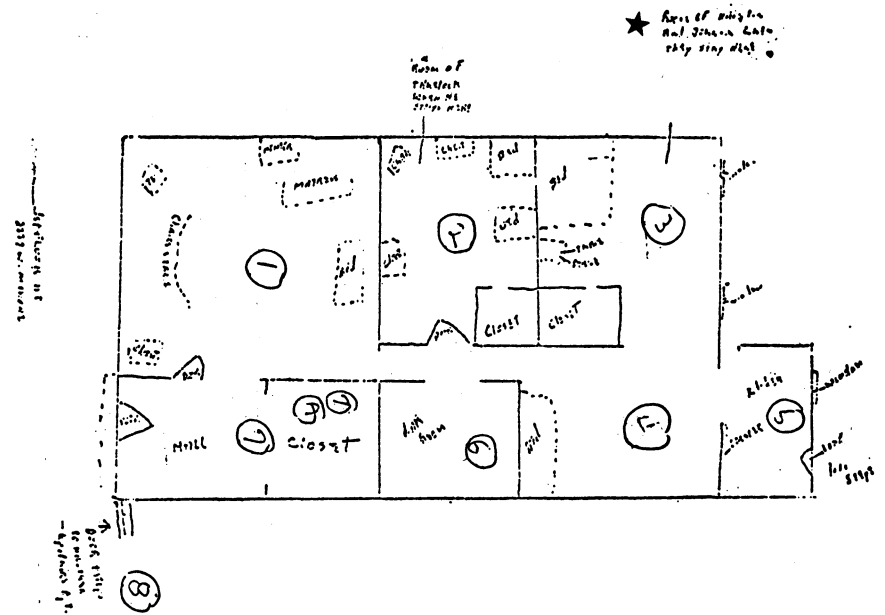
If Hampton had been drugged, he would have offered little resistance. The cops later maintained that they had fired only in self-defense when met with gunfire after a voice cried, "Shoot it out! Shoot it out with the pigs!" But ballistics investigators found that 99 police bullets were fired into the apartment and only one slug apparently fired in return.

COINTELPRO

Attorneys for the Hamptons took sworn statements from Roy Mitchell on April 24, May 1, and May 7 in Chicago. Mitchell said he had been following the activity of the Panthers "on his own" since 1967. He said O'Neal had worked for him.

He denied that he was acting under COINTELPRO, but in March the *Chicago Tribune* stated that Mitchell had been in charge of COINTELPRO in Chicago.

Prior to his deposition in the Hampton suit, Mitchell received notification from Attorney General William Saxbe



Sketch of floor plan of Black Panther Party apartment shown by FBI to state's attorney's agents prior to murderous Dec. 4, 1969, raid. Asterisk (added by Militant) indicates notation identifying Hampton's bed.

of what he could disclose. Often during questioning around sensitive matters, Mitchell refused to supply names, dates, and other information, the attorneys said.

There are indications COINTELPRO disruption tactics are still in effect against the Panthers.

Six days after the memos were released on April 19, Chicago cops raided an unused Panther residence on a tip, looking for weapons. The police claimed an informant told them the premises had been burglarized two days earlier by three youths who wheeled away on bicycles, carting six machine guns.

The raid turned up gas masks, military manuals, and 6000 rounds of ammunition. But Illinois Panther leader Bobby Rush reported the residence had been unused for several months and he did not know how the items got there.

When the latest memos were released, the FBI conveniently placed on top of the press packets copies of a handwritten document the FBI asserts was confiscated in a Panther raid.

The "document" outlined plans by which the Panthers would overthrow the state government and kill top city, state, police, military, and community

leaders.

The *Chicago Daily News* singled out this document from the others, and the headlines of its April 19 evening edition screamed in three-inch type, "FBI bares Panther plot to kill officials." Buried in the text was mention of the other memos.

Hampton family attorney Taylor pointed out, however, that the presence of the handwritten document corresponds to the COINTELPRO aim of planting bogus documents to be taken for authentic.

"This fits right in with the COINTELPRO plans," he said. "I wouldn't be surprised if they [the FBI] wrote it themselves."

No doubt the FBI hoped that news of this Panther "document" would put the Panthers in a bad light and divert the mounting opposition to FBI tactics.

But these latest memos have shown the true face of the FBI's secret-police operations. And they add new weight to the demand for the convening of an independent Black commission of inquiry to look into the true circumstances surrounding the deaths of Hampton and Clark—and other Black leaders as well, such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X.



HAMPTON: Drugged before raid?

ruthless campaign they conducted against the Black Panther Party.

The 300 pages of heavily censored memos reveal that the pretext for the raid on the Panther apartment was contrived.

Informant William O'Neal had joined the Panthers in 1968 at Mitchell's request. Through cunning he had worked his way up to chief of security. In October 1969 he told Mitchell of the presence of guns and military paraphernalia—all legally held—in the apartment.

In a memo filed eight days after the raid and the explosion of public outrage, Mitchell wrote that there had been two illegal weapons present. In previous reports, however, he had never noted their presence. Moreover, O'Neal, in a sworn deposition on the case in January, never mentioned anything about the guns being illegal.

One memo, dated Dec. 12, 1969, reveals the extent of FBI determination to pull off the raid on the Chicago

Ex-Panther tells of FBI actions

When lawyers for the Hampton family took a statement from Panther informant William O'Neal in January, he told of the generalized fear of agents and imminent police raids that gripped the party.

"It was general paranoia throughout the whole party, throughout its whole birth," O'Neal said. "You know that every other day there was going to be a raid."

Much of this atmosphere was no doubt created by the presence of FBI agents and police provocateurs, sowing factionalism, in accordance with the COINTELPRO disruption program. In 1969 and 1970, there were massive expulsions from the party often under puzzling circumstances that may have been due to the work of agents.

Walter Chesser, chairman of the Black Masses Party in Milwaukee, recently told *The Militant* of experiences he encountered as minister of defense in the latter months of his membership in the Milwaukee Pan-

thers in 1969. He attributed these experiences to the work of police agents.

In one instance, while in Chicago, he was sharply scolded for allegedly deviating from the Panther line. He reported that a very sophisticated organizer, whom he suspected was an agent, ordered him placed under "house arrest"—locked in a cellar—for several hours.

When he was released he resigned from the Panthers and returned home to Milwaukee. That same day he was told by Milwaukee cops that they knew he was no longer in the Panthers. Believing him to be disgruntled, they wanted to talk things over.

Chesser said only an agent could have informed the cops so quickly.

In addition, a couple of months after he left the Panthers, Chesser was approached by two FBI agents who asked him to rejoin the Panthers and squeal for the sum of \$125 a week.

Wounded Knee defendants demand files on secret government harassment, spying

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The issue is top-secret government data. The defense wants it and the prosecution says it doesn't want to turn it over.

That could set the stage for another legal confrontation in the trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means, leaders of the American Indian Movement. Defense attorneys and the government will argue before federal Judge Fred Nichol a defense motion that seeks a wide range of documents from the White House, Justice Department, and Pentagon.

Douglas Hall, a defense attorney, told *The Militant* that on the basis of information available to the defense, he is convinced the government had a number of plans for surveillance of AIM, including possible "counterintelligence programs" like the FBI disruption programs directed against Black groups and the Socialist Workers Party.

The June 4 *Minneapolis Star* quoted R.D. Hurd, chief prosecuting attorney, as saying the government would oppose releasing some of the information demanded in the motion, which the defense regards as critical, on the ground that it is "irrelevant" to the case.

According to the account, the government may also resist release of some documents on the grounds of "national security."

The secret data would likely show the cynical and criminal machinations of high U.S. officials—including those in the White House—as they mapped plans to suppress the American Indian Movement.

The defense motion asks for all documents dealing with the use of military forces in Wounded Knee last year, all documents showing the assignment duties and activities of a number of high-level government officials and military personnel at Wounded Knee, documents concerning communications between the White House and the Justice Department, and data relating to an already released directive ordering widespread surveillance by the FBI of AIM.

Prosecutor Hurd says he believes there were conversations about last year's Wounded Knee seizure within the Justice Department "at the highest levels" and perhaps inside the White House. "But I don't know any specifics," Hurd said.

But a March 1973 Justice Department memo accidentally released to the press last month by the prosecution,



Recent St. Paul demonstration against Wounded Knee frame-up trials

Militant/Mark Allen

shows conclusively that White House level personnel were assigned to the government effort at Wounded Knee.

The memo, which lists "those who have been working with the Justice Department on this [Wounded Knee] matter," includes the following names:

John Wittaker, undersecretary of the Department of Interior; Fred Buzhardt, general counsel in the Department of Defense; Kenneth BeLieu, undersec-

tary of the Army; Kenneth Cole, executive director of the Domestic Council; Leonard Garment, special consultant to the president; and Brad Patterson, special assistant to the president.

The memo was written by Justice Department officials in response to questions by a Senate committee headed by Senator Henry Jackson.

The committee asked a highly re-

vealing question: "Does the Department of Justice have any information which would lead us to believe that other organized groups are involved in this civil disorder?"

The answer, from the Department of Justice, lists a number of groups "sponsoring and participating in demonstrations throughout the United States in support of AIM:

"Students for a Democratic Society, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, Young Socialist Alliance, Vietnam Veterans Against the War (some members have been seen at Wounded Knee), Black Panther Party, Venceremos Brigade, Progressive Labor Party, National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, United States Committee for Aid to the National Liberation Front, Medical Aid for China, the Red Collective, the Black Workers Congress, Young Workers Liberation League, Revolutionary Union, Emma Goldman Brigade, Medical Committee for Human Rights, Pillsbury Peace and Freedom Party, Committee for Asian-American Action."

The answer indicates that the government was keeping its illegal eyes focused on all aspects of activity in

Continued on page 22

Three Indian defendants acquitted in S.D.

By GREG CORNELL

A federal judge in Sioux Falls, S.D., has acquitted three defendants arrested last year during the 71-day seizure of Wounded Knee.

The acquittals were termed a "major victory" by Russell Means, a leader of the American Indian Movement and a defendant on trial in a separate case in St. Paul.

Acquitted May 29 were Tonia Ackerman, Lorelei DeCora Means, and Madonna Gilbert.

Judge Warren Urbom ruled that the government had not presented enough substantial evidence for conviction of the three defendants, who had been charged with burglary and larceny of the Wounded Knee trading post on Feb. 27, 1973.

The acquittals bring to nine the number of Wounded Knee defendants who have either been acquitted or have had charges dismissed in cases tried in Sioux Falls. Not a single Wounded Knee defendant has been convicted.

As a result of the acquittals, federal prosecutors in South Dakota have said they are seeking Justice Department approval to dismiss charges against more than 100 other people arrested on a variety of charges last year at Wounded Knee.

According to an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune*, the charges could be dropped "in exchange for pleas of 'no contest' from five of the defendants."

In the latest acquittals, the judge ruled that while the three Indian women were in a car with stolen property, they could not be linked to the theft of the property. The car did not belong to them.

Despite the Sioux Falls ruling, five other defendants still face charges in state court in Sioux Falls for their participation in a demonstration in Custer, S.D., last year.

And the government plans to continue to press the frame-up charges against Dennis Banks and Russell Means, and four other AIM members

expected to go on trial later in St. Paul.

Means told *The Militant* last week that acquitting the three in Sioux Falls was not enough.

"I believe all the charges should be dropped against all the defendants because our treaty rights are inviolate," Means said.



Militant/Muffie Page

RUSSELL MEANS: 'All the charges should be dropped against all the defendants.'

Ohio AFL-CIO changes officers but not policies

CLEVELAND—Support for the United Farm Workers was the only united action of the four-day convention of the Ohio AFL-CIO, which closed here May 24.

The rest was a bitterly fought battle between warring factions of the Democratic Party. Frank King, president of the Ohio AFL-CIO for the past 10 years and a former Democratic leader in the Ohio legislature, was swept out of office along with all his supporters in the 34-member executive committee.

They were replaced by a slate headed by Milan Marsh of Youngstown, chairman of the Ohio State Council of Carpenters.

The main issue was King's failure to give uncritical support in the legislature to the policies of Governor John Gilligan.

Battle lines were drawn from the opening session and the only ceasefire came when Eliseo Medina, vice-president of the United Farm Workers,

who heads the grape and lettuce boycott in Ohio, addressed the convention.

Following his speech the delegates contributed \$1,252 in a collection and voted unanimously to give the Farm Workers \$5,000 from the Ohio AFL-CIO funds.

Another political issue that intruded into the power struggle was women's rights.

Of the 2,122 delegates and alternates attending, only 115 were women and only five were named to the convention committees. Ethelrie Harper of the State, County and Municipal Employees protested this lack of representation, saying women unionists are sick and tired of just licking stamps and being secretaries.

Each of the contending slates included two women, and many women delegates crossed caucus lines to vote for the women on both. Those elected, Barbara Easterling of the communications workers and Genevieve

Motsinger of the electrical workers, both on the Marsh slate, are believed to be the first women vice-presidents of the Ohio AFL-CIO.

A resolution submitted by Jean Tussey of the Cleveland Typographical Union called attention to the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and urged "participation of all union women in this historic new organization."

This resolution was referred to the incoming executive committee for action along with all the other unfinished business of the convention.

The impression of the convention expressed in informal discussions of rank-and-file delegates was that it graphically demonstrated the crisis of leadership in the labor movement in Ohio.

The convention changed the officers but not the policies that have weakened the ability of the unions to defend the standard of living of their members.

No discussion dealt with solutions

to the problems of inflation and unemployment, or protection of Black and women workers, who are hit first and hardest by economic reverses.

No note was taken of two recent events that demonstrate how impractical it is for the labor movement to work inside the Democratic Party to bring about social change.

Senator Howard Metzenbaum lost in the Democratic primary despite all-out support by the union leadership, the Gilligan administration, and the party machine. The rank and file did not follow the leadership.

On the other hand, the struggle for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in Ohio was unsuccessful in 1973 despite the support of Gilligan and the national Democratic and Republican parties. But in 1974, with only one new factor in the situation—the support of the AFL-CIO, which had previously opposed the ERA, and a large, united demonstration in Columbus—the ERA was passed.

Effective escalators

"Our last three-year raise was eaten up the first year after the contract was settled," said a New York garment worker, explaining the importance of the demand for an escalator clause in the current nationwide clothing industry strike.

Of course, the garment workers need more than an escalator clause. They are among the lowest-paid workers in the country, many still paid according to the reactionary piece-work system. Garment workers need an immediate substantial wage boost.

But, as more and more workers are coming to realize, an escalator clause is key to protection against rampaging inflation.

While greater numbers of workers are fighting for and winning cost-of-living escalators, few have won provisions that are anywhere near adequate to keep up with prices. A major inequity is that the Consumer Price Index, to which most escalators are pegged, is rigged by the government to understate the degree of inflation as it hits working people.

With potatoes up 60 percent in the past year, bread up 34 percent, and rice up 103 percent, it is clear that prices of staple goods have zoomed past the CPI-reported increase of 10.2 percent.

Wage escalator clauses can provide full protection against inflation only when unions and consumer groups set up their own independent price-watch committees to determine the real rise in the cost of living.

Equal pay victory

The Supreme Court ruled June 3 that women workers are entitled to equal pay with men who do similar work, even if the men work different shifts.

The court ruled unconstitutional the Corning Glass Works' system of paying more for night work than day work, and then hiring mainly men for the night shift. The court further ruled that it is not enough for a company simply to make women eligible for the higher-paid job classification, but that all women doing similar work to men must be raised to the higher wage scale.

The ruling itself will not end discrimination against women, nor does it begin to make up for years of unequal treatment. The law on which the ruling was based, the Equal Pay Act, was passed 10 years ago; yet pay discrimination continues to be the norm, not the exception.

But the decision will help advance struggles of women for equal pay. The ruling itself reflects the increased pressure being exerted by women workers. Dozens of class action suits, such as the one recently won against AT&T, have helped expose the superexploitation of the female labor force.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women decided at its founding convention this spring to make the fight for equal pay a top priority. The Supreme Court decision provides another weapon to be used in this crucial fight.

Bombing in L.A.

The main beneficiary from the bomb that exploded May 31 in California Attorney General Evelle Younger's office was undoubtedly Evelle Younger.

Younger lost no time in portraying himself as a tough, undaunted lawman under violent attack because of "my legislative proposals relative to political, terrorist-type kidnappings" and "my vigorous support" for the police slaughter of six Symbionese Liberation Army members. The bombing came just four days before the California primary, in which Younger was running for reelection as a right-wing, "law-and-order" candidate.

A letter purportedly from the Weather Underground, claiming the bomb was set in solidarity with the SLA, made a point of referring to Black prisoner Ruchell Magee as "Cinque." No one could have been more delighted with this attempt to link Magee to the SLA than those, like Younger, who are trying to convict Magee for kidnapping.

If this bombing was in fact the work of the Weather Underground, it is another example of the impotence and futility of such terrorist acts.

It is not excluded that the bombing was the work of provocateurs. It should be noted that those who are pointing to the likelihood that SLA leader Donald "Cinque" DeFreeze was a police agent believe Younger—former Los Angeles district attorney—to be a key figure involved in the cops' use of DeFreeze.

Bourgeois press

I foolishly allowed my subscriptions to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review* to run out and decided to rely on the bourgeois press and media for my news.

That decision merely confirmed and reaffirmed my Marxist conviction that the capitalist system of communications, through its shallowness of analysis and selectiveness of sensationalism, leaves those who rely exclusively on it in the dark. It creates the impression that everything is working smoothly (except for the activities of a few troublemakers) and, like a spray deodorant, it tries to spread a sweet-smelling mist to cover the fact that the system stinks.

Please renew my subscriptions immediately.

Tom Fiddick
Evansville, Ind.

The Duke

Words, it seems, cannot describe the sorrow felt with the passing of Edward Kennedy Ellington. Nor can they describe the richness of his musical legacy.

The Duke, a legend in his time, displayed a talent unmatched by any other American composer. The variety and charm of his lyrical accomplishments—moody blues, sassy up-tempo swing, and that inimitable Ellington big-band sound—will live forever.

Another Black giant, John Coltrane, once found a description in 1962 after they cut an album together. "He has set standards I haven't caught up with yet. He's a king in my book."

B.S.
New York, N.Y.

From old to new

I just got a little back allowance from my matriarch and out it goes to my subscription to *The Militant*.

At the Michigan State University Library I was reading all the old copies of the *Socialist Appeal*, the *New Militant*, and the early *Militants*. This brought me to the conclusion that out in an area like East Lansing I need something as inspiring as the old *Militants* and the Young *Spartacus* of the 1930s in my day-to-day work. And that's *The Militant* of the 1970s.

D. C.
East Lansing, Mich.

Texas election laws

I want to make a factual correction concerning Texas ballot requirements as reported in the article I wrote for the May 17 issue of *The Militant*.

I repeated a commonly held misconception that the Texas legislature recently raised the requirement for an automatic position for a party on the state ballot from 5 percent to 20 percent of the vote cast for governor in the previous election. The facts are as follows:

The required percentage of the total vote cast for governor in order to secure a ballot slot without petitioning in the succeeding election remains at 2 percent, not 5 percent. What has changed is that a party must receive 20 percent of the vote,

instead of 2 percent, in order to select their candidates by primary. In 1974, La Raza Unida Party, which received more than 5 percent of the vote in 1972, had the option of choosing its candidates by primary or convention. It chose to take advantage of the state-financed primary.

If the Chicano party receives less than 20 percent of the vote for governor this year, it must choose its candidates for the next election by convention; and, if it receives more than 20 percent, the party is required to use the primary method. In my opinion, members of La Raza Unida Party should have the right to decide for themselves how they select their candidates, including the right to a state-financed primary, whether they get more or less than 20 percent.

Of course, the reason the Democrats and Republicans bothered to change the law was to try to lower the legal status and image of Raza Unida to something less than that of the two traditional parties of the capitalist class.

Nelson Blackstock
Houston, Tex.

Helps democracy

The Militant is a great alternative newspaper, and while I don't agree with all your stands, I certainly appreciate the opportunity to have the "other" side of events. Your actions help ensure democracy and concern for personal freedom.

R.L.
Alhambra, Calif.

Italian weekly

The last time I wrote was to subscribe to *The Militant* for a little Italian weekly. Once again we will be subscribing, as we found *The Militant* the only newspaper that continually supplies alternative facts and information on the USA.

Carl Evans Clifford
Rome, Italy

Better than Playboy

I've grown very dependent on the facts in the informative, strong, and beautiful *Militant*. Also, it has caused me to put away *Playboy* and other such hideous magazines.

And for this, I say thanks—for helping me to see what's what around me and what also concerns me directly as a person.

A prisoner
Ohio

Convinced

Recently I wrote to you asking for a prisoner's subscription to *The Militant*. At the time I wrote I was unsure of the socialist viewpoint, therefore I only asked for a three-month subscription.

Since reading *The Militant* and several books, I have found the Socialist Workers Party to be an outstanding political party. Therefore, I wish you would extend my subscription for the remainder of the year.

Our nation needs a third party, and since the 1960s it's become more and more apparent to the general public. But more than needing a



The UFW & 'illegal aliens'

third party, it needs a new, improved political philosophy that is based on a realistic premise. The most sufficient group that could fill this need, in my belief, is the SWP. A prisoner
Iowa

Israeli 'reprisal'

I have this day purchased a copy of your publication, and while I find many of your articles interesting and provocative, I was dismayed by your scurrilous attack on Israel.

You infer that the Israelis were the attackers when it really was the other way round. True, many innocents perished when the attack by the Israeli army was made to avenge the deaths of 26 schoolchildren and numerous adults as a result of the Lebanese terrorists. This was not only a reprisal but a warning not to repeat such horrors.

Stella Greene
San Diego, Calif.

Won't kowtow to Zionists

I had almost given up hope of finding, in this supposedly cosmopolitan city, a paper that was free of racism and truly international in spirit, when a friend gave me *The Militant* to read. It was refreshing. It is heartening to know that there are Americans who will not kowtow to the Zionists; to whom the Palestinians are also human beings, have children, and lose their lives as a result of Israeli bombs; and who do not forget how Israel came to be and what it represents.

My thanks to *The Militant*.
M. S.
Jackson Heights, N. Y.

Attica Indictees

On May 20, 1974, at the Appellate Division in Rochester, N. Y., a team of defense counsels on our behalf (Attica Indictees) argued several motions in its attempt to secure some legal relief, which has been something unattainable for us so far.

The judges gave a reserved decision on all the motions by saying there was a lack of jurisdiction issue.

Meanwhile, we are still scheduled to appear at the Buffalo Supreme Court on June 10 for the tentative calendar call, which is when we expect to be appointed our trial dates and trial judges.

Also your readers may be interested in our defense committee pamphlet titled *Attica Is All of Us*, which features analysis, essays, poems, pictures, and writings by us. (The address of the Attica Brothers Legal Defense Committee is 1370 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y. 14290.)

An Attica Indictee
Buffalo, N. Y.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

As the grape harvest begins, the United Farm Workers union faces a difficult problem of the growers using undocumented workers from Mexico as strikebreakers. At a San Francisco news conference May 17, César Chávez said that 80 percent of the farm workers in the Delano area are "illegal aliens."

Chávez said he will offer documented proof that the growers have been recruiting these strikebreakers with the collusion of the Immigration Service.

Chávez's solution is to put pressure on immigration authorities to keep undocumented workers out of the country. He indicated that the union has been reporting the location of undocumented workers in struck fields to the border patrol so they can be deported.

There is no question that farm workers must do everything necessary to stop strikebreaking. But is calling for the deportation of undocumented workers really a means of dealing with this problem?

As Chávez himself pointed out, the Immigration Service is working in collusion with the growers. Calling on them to get scabs out of the fields is pretty much like calling on the growers. It's a waste of breathe.

But there are even more important reasons, I think, why it's wrong to appeal to the hated *migra* to get rid of undocumented workers being used as strikebreakers.

To begin with, what should be focused on is the fact that these workers are being used as strikebreakers, not the fact that they are "illegals."

To make a big point about their being "illegals" and calling the cops on them can only detract from the widespread sympathy for the UFW among the Chicano people. Chicanos generally look on the plight of the undocumented Mexican workers with sympathy—and rightly so. This is important to remember if only because the support of the Chicano community is essential in promoting the boycott of scab products.

What I am saying does not mean that the union should not or cannot try to get strikebreakers out of the field, whether they be U.S. citizens, documented Mexican workers, or undocumented ones.

The best way to keep scabs out, of course, would be for the union to put such massive picket lines at the ranches as to cripple production.

National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl



Bias against older workers

For many years now, workers approaching middle age have suddenly found themselves out of their jobs and unable to find others because they were "too old."

Then in 1968 the Age Discrimination in Employment Act was approved. It forbids firing or not hiring persons between 40 and 64 years old merely because of their age.

This law, like most social legislation, has been, as Shakespeare said, "more honored in the breach than the observance."

Now, probably because Nixon needs all the good exposure he can get, Labor Secretary Peter Brennan has suddenly activated the law and set up a stable of lawyers to enforce it. So far this year, 400 files full of complaints have been sent to Washington for action.

The biggest action against age discrimination so far came when Standard Oil of California (Socal) entered into a consent agreement with the Labor Department to pay \$2-million in back pay to 160 of its fired older workers and to rehire 120 of them. The other 40 workers reportedly were either ill or have reached 65 and thus passed beyond the protection of the law.

William Kilberg, solicitor for the Labor Department, announced that another case now pending will involve nearly five times as much back pay as did the Socal case.

Kilberg admitted that companies "tend" to discharge older workers in order to bring in younger ones at lower wages. He also pointed out that many times these older workers are fired a year or two

Not being strong enough to do that, the union must use other means to cut down production by scabs. Some of these things are already being done.

For example, the union tries to get the word out in southwestern states about the strike in the grape areas so that migrant workers will know about it and seek work that is available in other areas on other crops. This has met with some success.

Then the union tries to reach and influence those workers who do come to work in the struck fields. With their bullhorns they appeal to the workers to leave the job and join the strikers or move on to get work elsewhere. And if their financial situation is such that they can't leave, the pickets appeal to them to at least slow down on the work. This too has had a significant effect.

The same kind of approach can be used toward the undocumented workers. The great majority of them are not professional strikebreakers. Many of them don't even know there's a strike when they're brought here. Most are recruited from border areas. The union could systematically canvass those areas informing people of the strike and the issues involved. They could enlist the aid of Mexican unionists and students in doing this. The result would be that many of the undocumented workers coming here would look elsewhere for work.

And for those who do wind up in the struck fields, they should be appealed to as victims of the growers, not enemies. The reason for the strike should be carefully explained. And the union should make clear it is opposed to victimization of undocumented workers in this country and that it will help those who don't want to be strikebreakers to get to other areas where there is work.

They should be told that while the union has meager resources, its food kitchen is open to all supporters, regardless of what kind of papers they have or don't have. Also, the union would have no difficulty, I'm sure, in enlisting the help of CASA and other antideportation groups in aiding those undocumented workers who leave the fields.

Some may argue, well, that may be a good idea, but it's not that easy. That's true. The whole struggle against the gringo agribusiness interests is hard and bitter. But one thing is sure. *La migra* isn't going to do anything to make it easier.

before they get vesting rights in a pension plan—that is, the guaranteed right to at least some money from the plan.

The June 3 issue of *U. S. News & World Report* gave the following figures on workers in the 40 to 64 age bracket:

- There are 36.7 million such workers, or 40 percent of the labor force.
- Sixty-two percent of this age group are men, 38 percent are women.
- White workers make up 90 percent; "nonwhites," 10 percent.
- White-collar workers comprise 49 percent; blue-collar are 35 percent; 13 percent are in service trades; the remainder are farm workers.

Socal and the Labor Department arrived at a "consent" agreement. The corporation was quick to point out that this kind of settlement specifically states there has been no finding the company violated the age-discrimination law.

The Socal subsidiary involved claimed it had to reduce its work force because it was losing money. All it did—in all "innocence," we are sure—was to get rid of 1,100 workers through "natural attrition" and fire 500 more for being "inefficient"—read too old, too close to pension vesting or collection.

Now Socal has promised to be good. It claims it has not been keeping adequate records of poor performance on the job in order to "protect" the worker. This charitable attitude, laments company Vice-president N. T. Bogart, "got us into trouble with the Department of Labor."

Ain't that a shame?



Chile defense program—To protect the armed forces, the Chile dictators issued a decree April 30 barring civilians from learning karate and all other oriental forms of unarmed combat.

Plain-talk dep't—J.B. Fuqua, chairman of Fuqua Industries, argued unsuccessfully against holding annual shareholders meetings. "Corporations were never intended to be democratic operations," he explained. "Democracy implies our vote is equal. But if you own 10,000 shares of a company's stock and I own one share,

you're 10,000 times more democratic than I."

Thought for the week—"This sport (fishing) promotes a clean mind, healthy body, and leaves no time for succumbing to communistic or socialistic propaganda."—Ivar Hennings, chairman of South Bend Bait Company and one of 300 prominent Americans who had some of their deeper thoughts encapsulated in the cornerstone of a Manhattan office building 25 years ago.

Social science dep't—After interview-

ing 5,000 families annually for five years, the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research concluded that mental attitudes have virtually no effect on economic status. Whether one is alienated and discouraged or confident and success-oriented, the researchers found, does not determine whether or not one is in the poverty bracket.

Nukes they call 'em—A University of Colorado researcher said radiation may be the carcinogenic in cigarettes. He said radioactive particles collect on sticky hairs of tobacco leaves.

These become embedded in the lungs of a smoker and build up over the years until the radiation dose rivals that suffered by uranium miners.

A veritable seer—John Dunlop, director of the federal Cost of Living Council, predicted the inflationary trend will continue.

Just whispering sweet nothings—Pat Nixon told *People* magazine that the Watergate tapes were like "private love letters" intended "for one person alone" and that the president shouldn't have parted with them.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Defend Dr. Morgentaler!

In an outrageous move by the Canadian government, Dr. Henry Morgentaler was arrested and thrown in jail May 14 for 10 days.

Dr. Morgentaler is a Montréal physician who for many years has been one of the most prominent and outspoken campaigners for repeal of Canada's anti-abortion law. In June 1970 he was arrested and charged with performing an illegal abortion. In the summer of 1973 his abortion clinic was raided and a series of other charges brought against him.

Widespread support mushroomed across Canada for Morgentaler, and support was also built in other countries. His case has become the main battleground between the Canadian abortion rights movement and the government.

Morgentaler went to trial in October 1973 and was acquitted by a French-speaking jury on the first of 13 charges. This acquittal was widely recognized as an important victory for Morgentaler and a blow to both the government and the federal abortion law.

The Canadian government and courts are now trying to reverse that victory, railroad Morgentaler to jail, and defeat the abortion rights movement.

On April 26 the Québec Court of Appeals overturned the November acquittal, and instead of following the usual procedure of calling for a

retrial, the appeals court itself declared Morgentaler guilty. Morgentaler's lawyers have appealed that decision to the Supreme Court.

Morgentaler was then subjected to the arrest and jailing on May 14. It took 10 days for him to win release on bail until he is formally sentenced.

Only two hours after being released Morgentaler was served a subpoena ordering him to appear in court June 4 for a hearing on his bail conditions. The government wants him back in jail.

The maximum penalty for performing illegal abortions in Canada is life imprisonment. Morgentaler is to be sentenced on June 17. The Supreme Court will probably not hear his appeal until the fall. Although his lawyers have asked that he be allowed to remain free on bail until the Supreme Court hears his case, the government may try to force him to begin serving his sentence on June 17.

Committees to Defend Dr. Morgentaler are organizing meetings and rallies across Canada to protest the latest moves against Morgentaler, to demand that the charges be dropped, and that the abortion law be repealed from the Criminal Code of Canada. Abortion rights supporters picketed the Montréal Palais de Justice during a

May 21 presentencing hearing.

June 15 has been set as the next protest date in Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. Other areas will be holding protest rallies and demonstrations around the same time. Dr. Morgentaler is slated to be one of the featured speakers at the rally in Toronto.

The effects of the Morgentaler case are not limited to Canada. The ramifications—either way the case is decided—will be felt in other countries. This is particularly true in the United States. The abortion rights movements in the U.S. and Canada have benefited from a strong solidarity. Women of both countries have understood that victories and defeats on either side of the border would be shared.

An international protest must be mounted against this scandalous attack on Morgentaler. Letters, telegrams, and resolutions of protest should be sent to Jerome Choquette, Minister of Justice, Québec, P.Q., Canada, with copies to the Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, Box 186, Station F, Toronto, Canada.

Picket lines or meetings where possible, on or around June 15, would let the Canadian government know that the U.S. abortion rights movement stands in solidarity with Dr. Henry Morgentaler.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



A challenge to the CP & YWLL

The *Daily World* is the U.S. Communist Party's newspaper. In its May 21 issue are two contradictory articles on the issue of independence for Portugal's African colonies. One is written by Ron Tyson, a Black *Daily World* writer. The other is unsigned.

Tyson writes approvingly of the stated positions of the various African liberation organizations: "Liberation fighters in the Portuguese colonies in Africa have categorically rejected any solution to the 'colonial' problem short of total independence and self-determination for the Black masses in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique and Angola." He implies that anything short of total independence would result in "neo-colonialism" and should be opposed.

"Spinola's plans," Tyson says, "call for a federation of equal Portuguese states, each enjoying 'complete autonomy.' Thus, in effect, he has rejected the demands of African masses in the colonies for total liberation and self-determination."

Tyson writes: "The junta in Lisbon has 'warned' FRELIMO liberation fighters in Mozambique that

unless they lay down their arms, Portugal will continue and if necessary escalate the war there."

Tyson is, of course, aware that the Portuguese Communist Party on May 15 joined the coalition government headed by General Spínola. In fact, the PCP is one of the staunchest backers of this regime, which has opposed total and immediate independence for the colonies and continues its military occupation and economic exploitation of them.

Moreover, the PCP has not counterposed total and immediate independence to Spínola's plans.

In fact, the article on the very next page in the *Daily World* points this out. The article speaks approvingly of the PCP's policies and says: "Cunhal [Portuguese Communist Party leader] also said that the problem of the colonial wars should be resolved through political settlements within the framework described in the program of the new provisional government."

The two articles are inconsistent, and could leave a naïve person confused. Is a *Daily World* reader supposed to support total independence for the

colonies, which Tyson implies is the just solution, or is the reader to support the neocolonialist "program of the new provisional government" in Lisbon, as the PCP prescribes?

Does Tyson think the presence of Communists in the regime of a colonial power makes it okay for that power, in this case Portugal, to keep exploiting and dominating its colonies?

Portugal has no more right to rule Angola, Mozambique, or Guinea-Bissau now, under Spínola and Cunhal, than it did under Salazar or Caetano.

It remains a prime task of all supporters of African liberation to campaign for full self-determination and immediate independence—no strings attached. Tyson and all other members and supporters of the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League who favor total and immediate independence for the colonies should call on the Portuguese CP to leave the Spínola government and demand immediate Portuguese withdrawal from the colonies.

D.C. CLUW holds education series

By ANN POWERS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Seventy-five women attended a forum May 30 titled "Who We Are," sponsored by the D.C. Area Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The national CLUW was founded in March in Chicago by 3,200 women from 58 unions. The coalition aims to organize union women to fight for full equality in the unions and on the job. Local affiliates are in the process of organizing themselves around the country.

Women from nine major unions reported on the status of women in their

unions to the meeting here.

The statistics presented emphasized the paltry number of women in union posts, including in unions with a high percentage of women members. For example, in the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU), 80 percent of its 90,000 members are women, yet of the 12 vice-presidents and 14 representatives, only one is a woman. Twenty-six percent of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks' 27,000 members are women, yet there are no women on the executive board.

Almost all the union representatives

reported that one of the main concerns of women in their unions was the need for adequate child-care facilities. The women carpenters, however, stressed that the first hurdle for them was getting hired in the first place!

Reports were presented by representatives of OPEIU; Washington Teachers Union; American Federation of Teachers Local 189; Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks; Carpenters Union; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; American Federation of Government Employees; Postal Workers; and the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199.

The D.C. Area CLUW has held three educational meetings since the national CLUW convention in March, each attended by about 80 women from 15 unions.

The first meeting focused on how to identify sex discrimination on the job. Four panelists discussed ways of fighting back through the union apparatus and through the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. One panelist, Allison Palmer, has been involved in a court case for several years and is the only woman filing a sex discrimination suit against the foreign services section of the State Department.

The D.C. Area CLUW has established three committees — communications, recruitment, and program — to organize its activities. The communications committee has publicized meetings through the media as well as sending announcements to unions and women's groups. That committee is also working on a newsletter.

The recruitment committee is responsible for reach-out. It is setting up a

Continued on page 22



Founding convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women last March

Starsky wins a battle for academic freedom

By WALTER LIPPMANN

LOS ANGELES—An important victory for academic freedom was won here when trustees of California State University agreed to pay Dr. Morris Starsky \$20,000 in damages as settlement of a breach-of-contract suit.

Earlier, in 1970, Starsky had been ousted from Arizona State University for his antiwar and socialist views. He was ordered reinstated by a federal court judge, a decision being appealed by the university.

In 1971 Dr. Starsky was hired as chairman of the philosophy department at the Dominguez Hills campus of California State University.

However, a few days before the start of classes he was informed by mail that he would not be allowed to teach because of alleged "lack of candor" in his job application. Starsky was allowed no hearing on the charge before the State Personnel Board.

Officials at Dominguez Hills justified their action on the ground that Starsky had not told them in his application that he had been fired from Arizona State University. However, the fact is that the Arizona regents had refused to renew his contract when it expired in 1970. He was not fired and there clearly was no reason for him to say that he was.

Starsky challenged the Dominguez Hills action in the state courts. The California Court of Appeals ruled that the university had acted improperly, and this was upheld by the California Supreme Court.

The trustees, however, tried to avoid compliance with the court ruling and refused to compensate Starsky for the period of the one-year contract under which he should have been employed.

Starsky's Los Angeles attorney, Ron Merlino, then went back into court seeking damages for breach of contract.

Days before the case was due to come to court the trustees agreed to settle.

The legal victory in Starsky's case established two important precedents for state employees. In ruling that Dominguez Hills had acted improperly, the state court held that when the state hires someone, it is, by that act, entering into a contract with that person. This covers every teacher in the state.

In addition, the court held that any employee of the state must have the right to a hearing before the State Personnel Board prior to being fired, even if the employee had not worked a single day after being hired.

Meanwhile, in Arizona, the university regents are stalling on complying with the December 1972 federal court order to reinstate Starsky. Currently they are appealing the reinstatement order to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco.

Starsky's attorneys recently filed a motion to expedite the case, explaining that a four-year delay in resolving the issue has "a chilling effect on academic freedom and civil liberties."

In pressing the Arizona fight, as with the victory at Dominguez Hills, Starsky has enjoyed wide support from individuals and groups concerned with academic freedom.

Berrigan tours Detroit for SWP suit

DETROIT—Philip Berrigan and Detroit attorney Abdeen Jabara urged support to the Political Rights Defense Fund before a May 31 meeting of 250 Wayne State University students. The meeting was sponsored by the campus Newman Center, the Political Rights Defense Fund, Students for Impeachment, Young Socialist Alliance, and the student government.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is publicizing the lawsuit filed by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party to stop government attacks on Black organizations, socialists, and other radicals. The suit seeks an injunction against a broad range of secret-police tactics, including burglary, wiretapping, mail tampering, infiltration, and harassment—all of which have been used against the SWP and YSA.

Attorney James Lafferty, also a PRDF supporter, chaired the meeting and took a collection for the expenses of the suit. About \$100 was raised through the collection and the sale of PRDF literature and buttons.

The May 31 meeting was part of a day-long tour of Detroit by Berrigan, which included a news conference in the morning and a taped appearance by Berrigan on the nationally syndicated Lou Gordon television show.

Abdeen Jabara, a founder of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, spoke to the meeting at Wayne State about his own suit against FBI surveillance of his activities. Pointing out the parallels between his suit and the one filed by the SWP and YSA, Jabara remarked, "Suits like these should be supported by everyone. These suits encourage everyone to resist this creeping government invasion of our rights."

In response to Jabara's suit, the

Justice Department recently admitted 29 incidents of use of wiretaps or other electronic surveillance against Jabara in 1972 and 1973. It also listed 23 events under surveillance that Jabara attended.

The FBI admitted observing Jabara at four meetings held by the Militant Forum in Detroit, a conference of the Young Socialist Alliance in Detroit in November 1973, and the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Cleveland in 1972. These particular admissions strengthen charges of surveillance in the SWP and YSA suit.

The FBI document released to Jabara says, "Coverage of the meetings was undertaken because of the organizations and/or individual participants involved and not for the reason that the plaintiff [Jabara] was a speaker."

Among other organizations revealed to be under surveillance through Jabara's suit are the Wayne State University Organization of Arab Students and the Association of Arab-American University Graduates.

This documentation of widespread FBI spying in Detroit comes in the wake of evidence that the FBI was involved in a burglary of the offices of the SWP and YSA in 1971. As a part of the "discovery" proceedings in the socialists' suit, the Civil Service Commission admitted it had obtained from the FBI a letter stolen from the SWP offices in 1971.

Also stolen in the burglary were lists of persons who had attended meetings of the Militant Forum. Several of these individuals received intimidating visits from the FBI following the burglary. A similar suspicious burglary took place in 1972 at the home of a leader of the Socialist Workers

Party in Detroit.

The widespread use of these tactics in this city, by both the FBI and the local police, has produced broad support here for the SWP and YSA's legal action and the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Among the local supporters of the PRDF are Democratic Congressman John Conyers; the Michigan Federation of Teachers; the Detroit chapter of the National Lawyers Guild; the Human Rights Party; AFSCME Locals 1497 and 1880; Reginald Wilson, president of Wayne County Community College; Herb Boyd, assistant chairman of the Center for Black Studies of Wayne State University; and the Wayne State University Student-Faculty Council.

Clip and mail to Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

- () Enclosed is \$_____ to help cover expenses.
- () Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ booklets *Challenge to the Watergate Crimes*. (\$1 each or 75 cents each on orders of five or more.)
- () Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ Feiffer buttons. (\$1 each or 30 cents each on orders of 10 or more.)
- () Enclosed is \$_____ for reprints of "Watergate and Other Crimes" by Noam Chomsky. (five cents each; \$3 per 100.)
- () Please send me more information on the suit.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Atlanta Black paper exposes police spying

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—In the face of growing anger in the Black community against police attacks, the Atlanta city council voted May 31 to hold an impeachment trial of police chief John Inman.

Inman is charged with refusing to comply with a subpoena for records of his order for undercover surveillance of the weekly *Atlanta Voice*, the largest Black newspaper in Georgia.

The city council's action came just four days after 1,000 people—mostly Blacks—took to the streets to demand the immediate removal of Inman, the abolition of the stakeout squad and other special police units used to terrorize the Black community, and an end to police spying.

Earlier two Black cops had testified about the lies used by the police stakeout squad to cover up its recent killings of two innocent Blacks.

Atlanta Voice managing editor Brenda Wright and reporter Greg Mathis spoke at the Militant Bookstore Forum here May 31 and explained how the spy scandal unfolded. Among the 75 people who attended the forum were reporters and cameramen from two TV stations and the *Atlanta Constitution*.

In April undercover policewoman Marion Lee got a job as a typesetter for the *Voice*. The cops so bungled their surveillance, however, that Lee's cover was blown within a week. Chief Inman later admitted that he had personally authorized the illegal spying.

The real reason for the planting of the police spy was the *Voice's* exposure last year of a secret political surveillance unit in the police department that was spying on Black elected officials as well as radicals. The cops were desperate to find and plug the sources of leaks about this illegal police unit.

To justify the spying, Inman told the media he was trying to establish a connection between the *Voice* and



Militant/George Basley

Vince Eagan, socialist candidate for governor of Georgia, addresses rally against police terror May 27.

the Symbionese Liberation Army.

The purpose of this bizarre story, *Voice* reporter Mathis said, "is to discredit the *Voice*, to get people in Atlanta to stop reading the *Atlanta Voice*, because it tells the truth about the police."

To concoct this story, the police first needed to establish some SLA link with Atlanta; they found their excuse in a classified ad in the *Atlanta Constitution* that read, "Pat is OK." The government now admits the ad was placed not by the SLA but by the FBI!

Part of the cops' public rationale for planting their spy was a red-baiting campaign against two Black activists, Melanie Finney and Adolph Reed, who had once written a guest article on the SLA in the *Voice*. Reed was also a speaker at the forum.

Old-style racists like Chief Inman are apparently finding it hard to adjust to working with the new city ad-

ministration headed by Mayor Maynard Jackson, the Black Democrat elected last year. A majority Black city council was also elected.

When Jackson attempted to fire Inman this spring to quiet anger in the Black community over police killings, Inman refused to step down and obtained a court injunction against his dismissal.

Now Inman has appealed to the state legislature to take control over the city police department and turn it into a "Metro-Atlanta" department encompassing the white suburbs.

Inman has also demoted the three highest ranking Black cops and promoted three whites, including the brother-in-law of Georgia's number one segregationist, Lieutenant Governor Lester Maddox.

Jackson, on the other hand, has made every effort to reassure Atlanta's white rulers that nothing will be done to alter the role of the police as de-

fenders of private property and capitalist law and order.

Jackson has refused to abolish the hated stakeout squad or other terror units. He actively opposed the May 27 protest, saying, "We do not need marches and demonstrations." When it became clear the demonstration would occur anyway, Jackson attempted to dissuade people from participating by warning that he did not control the cops and could not guarantee the safety of the marchers.

The reason for Jackson's treacherous role, which is contrary to the interests and desires of the Black people who voted him into office, was explained at the Militant Bookstore Forum by Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia.

"Suppression of any movement that doesn't accept the corrupt, racist society and government we have," Eagan said, "is the fundamental role of the police." Because Jackson's first allegiance is to the capitalist Democratic Party instead of to the masses of Black people, he "has said nothing about changing the fundamental police role."

Eagan contrasted this to the record of the Socialist Workers Party, which has consistently spoken out against police terror and helped organize hearings and demonstrations by the Black community against police repression.

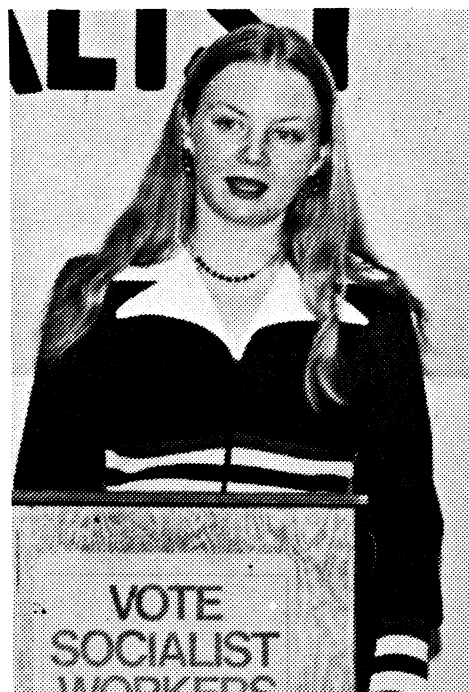
Eagan called for opening up all the secret files of the police department and for an independent investigation of the spying on the *Voice* and murders by police.

"The illegal police surveillance, like the police terror units, confirm our viewpoint that the present racist police force must be expelled from the Black community," Eagan said.

"The present police, who have no interest in stopping crimes against Black people, must be replaced by a force drawn from and responsible to the Black community."

Campaigning for socialism

SOCIALIST DEMANDS AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR MINORITY LAW STUDENTS: Dorothy Hawkinson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Washington state senate, 43rd District, addressed a May 24 Militant Forum in Seattle on the University of Washington struggle by Black, Chicano, Native American, and Asian-American students.



Dorothy Hawkinson, SWP candidate for Washington state senate.

Also speaking were Eugene Green, cochairman of the Minority Law Students Association at the university, and Fernando E. Perez Pena, one of only three Spanish-surnamed lawyers in the state.

Hawkinson declared the SWP's solidarity with the fight by minority law students for a special training program to help them overcome years of racist, inferior education. The students won an initial victory when the university was forced to back down on its decision to drop 12 minority students because of poor grades. There are only 19 minority law students at the school.

The socialist candidate also spoke out in support of Carlos Munoz, who has been twice refused a position in the university's political science department. Recently, the faculty approved an appointment for Munoz, but the chairman of the department is trying to overturn the job offer. This racist action was protested recently by a sit-in of Chicano students in the dean's office.

BELATED VICTORY FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN CALIFORNIA: On May 31 the California Supreme Court ordered Secretary of State Edmund Brown Jr. to stop the collection of filing fees and to count the write-in votes for five Peace and Free-

dom Party candidates.

The ruling was the third in three months to overturn undemocratic filing fees, which are used by the Democrats and Republicans to keep independent candidates off the ballot. In March the U.S. Supreme Court decided such laws were unconstitutional, and a California federal court overturned California's filing-fee provision.

Brown openly flouted these rulings by denying the Peace and Freedom candidates official write-in status in the June 4 primary, and by throwing SWP candidate Nat Weinstein off the ballot for the June 4 special election in the 6th C.D.

Weinstein filed suit with the Peace and Freedom candidates to win ballot status, but the California Supreme Court refused to hear his case on a technicality. The court's delaying action meant that even though the merits of Weinstein's case were upheld, it is too late for him to be placed on the ballot.

INDIANA SOCIALISTS PROTEST FIRING OF SWP CAMPAIGN TREASURER: The Indiana Socialist Workers Party campaign held news conferences in Bloomington and Indianapolis recently to denounce the firing of Marc Schulz, campaign treasurer, from his job at Service Master, a

Bloomington housecleaning agency.

His boss claimed that a major customer wanted Schulz removed because of his socialist campaign activity. Schulz believes FBI harassment may be the real reason.

FBI agents had visited Schulz at work last fall and attempted to intimidate him. Other supporters of the SWP campaign, particularly members of the Young Socialist Alliance, have been similarly harassed by FBI snoopers.

In a statement released to the news media, Harold Schlechtweg, Indiana SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 7th Congressional District, demanded reinstatement of Schulz and the disclosure of all FBI records pertaining to the Indiana SWP and YSA "so that the FBI's role in this matter can be determined."

Schlechtweg pointed out how the firing of Schulz is "a blatant attempt to intimidate supporters" of the 1974 Indiana SWP campaign. "If potential backers of my campaign feel they face possible loss of employment, that is sure to have an adverse effect on our ability to win support."

Schlechtweg also pointed out that the SWP and YSA are challenging this type of Watergating on a national scale through a suit against government wiretapping, spying, burglary, harassment, and other illegal activities.

—ANDY ROSE

Why Puerto Ricans should support the New York Socialist Workers campaign

The following are major excerpts from a leaflet published in English and Spanish by the New York Socialist Workers Party campaign and distributed to participants in the annual Puerto Rican Day parade held June 2. Despite rain, the parade drew a crowd estimated at more than 50,000. Campaign supporters report a warm response to the leaflet, and 5,000 copies were taken. Copies of the leaflet are available from the New York State 1974 SWP Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Why should Puerto Ricans vote for the Socialist Workers Party in 1974?



Socialists actively support struggles of Puerto Rican community, such as fight for community control of District 1 schools.

Before asking this question, you should ask yourself, "Is there any reason why I *should* support the Democrats or Republicans?" They've held office in City Hall, Albany, and Washington year after year. During all this time what have they done for working people? What have they done for Puerto Ricans?

Not only haven't they done anything, but conditions for millions of workers, especially those who live in the ghettos and barrios, are getting worse.

Every election these Democratic and Republican politicians come to us dressed up like friends of working people, like they are suffering the same

things Puerto Rican and Black people face. But behind the scenes the smaller politicians are bankrolled by the landlords and loan sharks who directly exploit our communities and the bigger ones are financed by the big trusts and banks.

From the most liberal to the most conservative their platforms have one plank, "Support Profits."

About now you are probably saying, "Yes, I agree with all that, but how do I know that socialists would do any better if elected?"

Unfortunately there are no socialists in office we can point to as an example of what we would do. All we can do is turn the question back to you and ask, "What would you do? That's what we'd do."

Would you take the \$100-billion military budget and launch a crash program to build new low-rent housing? better schools with more bilingual programs? more parks? more hospitals and free medical care? So would we.

Do you want to make sure that once money is allocated it doesn't end up lining the pockets of government bureaucrats? So do we.

And we propose that the only way to do this is for the Puerto Rican communities to democratically control and administer their funds and activities. That's why we support the strug-

gle of Puerto Rican, Black and Chinese parents in New York City's school District 1 to control their schools.

Would you make it illegal for agribusiness throughout New York State to pay migrant Puerto Rican workers starvation wages? So would we. And we'd recognize their right to organize unions and bargain collectively.

Would you make it mandatory that Puerto Rican and Black workers be given preference in hiring in order to catch up for decades of being the last hired and first fired? So would we.

Do you favor the end of Yankee domination over Puerto Rico? So do we.

The point is that our party has no interests separate from those of working people, especially those most oppressed by racism. We participate in and support the struggles of Puerto Ricans. This is different from liberal Democrats and Republicans who come to the Puerto Rican community, not to support struggles, but only to solicit support for their campaigns from those who are struggling.

We believe that the struggles of working people, including Puerto Ricans, will lead to the ouster of the handful of rich who run this country, and to the formation of a government run by workers. That is what we're campaigning for.

Socialist answer to NYC budget 'crisis'

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK — Mayor Abraham Beame's 1974-75 budget of \$11.1-billion contains drastic measures designed to unload the financial problems of New York City onto the backs of working people.

In an attempt to close a \$1.5-billion gap between income and spending, Beame has proposed to increase the New York City sales tax by one cent, bringing it to the outrageous figure of eight cents on the dollar. The mayor also proposes to lay off 12,015 municipal employees, 2,000 employees of the Community Action program, and 4,200 teachers and para-professionals.

In addition to the higher sales tax, an increase in the real estate tax and a \$15-per-year auto-use tax are also being proposed. And, while \$1.5-billion is allocated to pay interest on the city's debts, funds for city agencies and services are being cut back.

On May 29 the board of estimate and finance committee held public hearings on the projected budget. Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Par-

ty candidate for U.S. Senate, attended these hearings and distributed an alternative proposal to all the media and members of the city council.

The six-page proposal, titled "Socialist Solution to New York City Budget 'Crisis' Fraud," points out that the city does not even tax the corporate incomes of the industrial giants that maintain their national headquarters in New York City.

"Nor does business pay property taxes in proportion to the real worth of high-priced commercial property," the proposal notes. "Most of the property taxes are paid by individual homeowners and landlords (who shift the tax onto tenants in the form of higher rents)."

The Socialist Workers Party proposed:

- Close all tax loopholes for corporations and the rich.
- 100 percent tax on all profits made by industries that pollute the environment.
- Repeal the sales tax, as well as all other taxes that hit working people more than the rich.

- End all taxes on incomes under \$15,000 and tax all incomes above \$30,000 100 percent.
- Open the books of the corporations to expose the real figures of bloated profits and tax evasions.

In opposition to Beame's proposed layoffs, Social Service Employees Union Local 371 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) has called a demonstration for June 4.

However, neither Victor Gotbaum, president of AFSCME's District Council 37, nor Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers, appeared at the budget hearings to denounce the cutbacks. Both have strong ties to the Democratic Party and campaigned for Beame in the last election.

The Socialist Workers Party proposed to counter the layoffs by shortening the workweek with no cut in pay, spreading the available work to all who need it; increasing the number of jobs by launching a crash program to build badly needed housing, hospitals, schools, and mass transporta-

tion facilities; and providing unemployment compensation at union-scale wages to everyone out of work.

Rebecca Finch pointed out, "While Beame is laying off thousands of workers, he has found enough money to increase the police force by 1,440."

The socialist candidate also denounced the allocation of \$1.5-billion in the budget for "debt service." "It is obvious where the priorities of the Democrats and Republicans lie," she said.

"We are being saddled with additional billions in taxes over the coming years to pay for interest on the city's bonds—bonds that Wall Street brokerage firms sell among themselves and to banks and insurance companies.

"The Chase Manhattan Bank, of which David Rockefeller is the chairman, is the biggest owner of New York bonds. While city services are being cut, the Rockefeller family and the big banks will be reaping several hundred million dollars a year in interest."

Asian-Americans demand construction jobs

By JEANNIE REYNOLDS

NEW YORK — Three hundred pickets marched May 31 outside the Confucius Plaza construction site in New York City's Chinatown.

The demonstrators chanted slogans and carried signs in English and Chinese demanding jobs for Asian-Americans on the site.

"We want jobs now," "Asians built the railroad, why not Confucius Plaza?" and "Government too slow, discrimination must go," were some of the slogans.

Protests have been going on since May 16 against DeMatteis construction company, which has refused to hire Asians.

The actions, called by Asian Ameri-

cans For Equal Employment (AAFEE), have drawn broad support. Marchers on May 31 included 50 Asian-American students from nearby Seward Park High School, a contingent of 40 construction workers from the Bronx Black and Puerto Rican Coalition, and members of the Chinese Golden Age Club.

On other days women and children workers from Chinatown's notorious garment-district sweatshops have come out on their lunch breaks to join the pickets.

The protests have suffered frequent police harassment, including more than 50 arrests in the last two weeks.

AAFEE spokesman Takashi Yanagida said the demands of the protests



Militant/Jeanne Reynolds

were for the immediate hiring of 40 Asian-American workers, for 25 percent of all workers at Confucius Plaza to be Asian-Americans, and for hiring an Asian-American investigator to monitor hiring practices at Confucius Plaza and other sites.

Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, participated in the picket line. In pledging the SWP's support to the action of the demonstrators, Finch said, "DeMatteis and the powerful construction industry have ignored the needs of the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities for too long. We join with AAFEE and the Asian community in demanding that DeMatteis end his racist employment policies."

'The wrong people are in prison'

Socialist campaigns in Los Angeles jails

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Socialist Workers Party candidate for Los Angeles County sheriff Manuel "Tank" Barrera made a fact-finding tour of three county jail facilities recently.

He and campaign supporters spoke with hundreds of prisoners and distributed campaign material and copies of *The Militant*.

Behind the public relations facade of the jails, Barrera found that prisoners, many of whom have not been convicted of any crime, enjoy no rights that their jailers cannot take away at will. They are subjected to dehumanizing conditions and racial discrimination.

Incumbent sheriff Peter Pitchess grudgingly granted Barrera the right to tour the jails in a sarcastic letter in which he implied that a Chicano activist was too stupid to be sheriff.

The reaction of the prisoners to Barrera was quite different. During his "guided tour" through cellblocks and work areas, the socialist candidate told prisoners he was for abolishing

the jail system and its root cause, capitalism. "Nixon, Agnew, Pitchess, and the oil monopolies are the criminals," Barrera said. "The wrong people are in prison."

Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 28th C.D., accompanied Barrera to the central jail. Of the 3,000 men held there, only about 300 have been convicted and sentenced. About 60 percent of the prisoners are Black or Chicano, a much higher proportion than in the area's population.

As we walked down one cellblock, a prisoner yelled out, "Don't believe anything the guards tell you." That turned out to be very good advice.

In the kitchen, we questioned the prison "dietician" about food preparation for Black Muslims, whose religion forbids them to eat pork. There are a substantial number of Muslims in the jail. He replied that separate meals are not served, but that officials "try to keep the pork down."

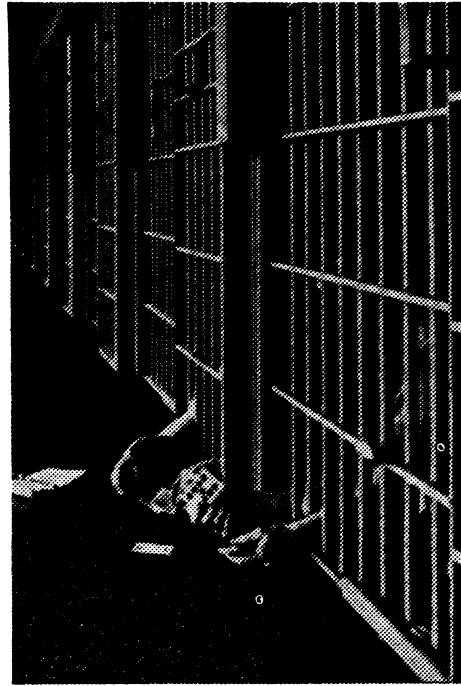
Later, I talked with some Muslims and found this to be untrue. At least three times a week, they said, pork is served two or three times a day. It is mixed in with the rest of the food and cannot be separated out.

The prison provides special offices for Protestant and Catholic chaplains, who conduct services and distribute religious literature. But no such facilities are available to the Muslims.

Officials told us that there is no censorship in the prison. But prisoners reported that literature is regularly confiscated.

The so-called recreation facilities consist of some weight-lifting equipment and one basketball court—for 300 men! The other 2,700 prisoners in the central jail do not even get to see the light of day, let alone exercise.

Everywhere the candidates went, prisoners gathered around to see what was happening. They were anxious to see *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*.



Laura Moorhead, SWP candidate for state attorney general, accompanied Barrera and Musa on the second day of the tour to the women's prison, the Sybil Brand Institute. Here, the socialist candidates found the regimentation to be even more strict than for the men.

All women prisoners are forced to work. They do the laundry and sew the uniforms for the entire prison system. Even in prison, this drudgery is "women's work."

Anyone who questions an order of the guards or even looks sideways in the lunch line is subject to disciplinary action.

Even under these conditions, Barrera related, the women were very interested in what socialists had to say. As the word got around in the sewing room that these were socialist candidates, about 40 women left their machines and crowded around, even though, as one of them said, "I'll probably get a 'demerit' for talking to you."

Barrera also visited the Wayside Honor Farm, supposedly a model of prison reform.

This is a "minimum security" jail where prisoners come to be "rehabilitated" by learning how to milk cows and repair automobiles. They are virtually indentured servants.

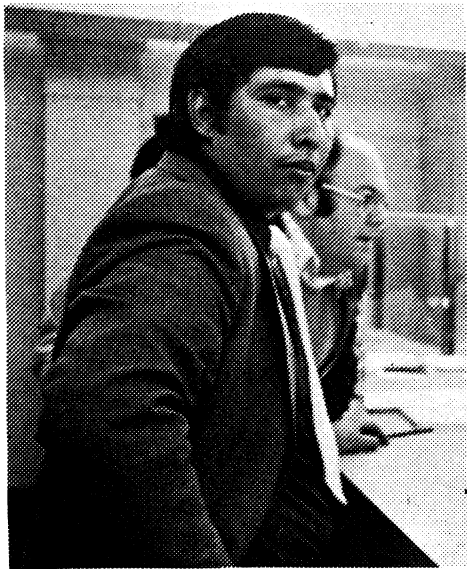
As everywhere else in the county jails, all labor performed by prisoners is completely unpaid. For every month worked, a prisoner gets five days knocked off the sentence. For every month of "good behavior," another five days are taken off.

During the socialist candidates' tour of Los Angeles County prisons, many prisoners expressed interest in receiving *The Militant*. Supporters of *The Militant* have set up a special Prisoner Subscription Fund to make it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. Readers are encouraged to help out by sending contributions to Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

To show how "sensitive" they are to prisoners' needs, prison officials point to the Black and Chicano culture classes taught at Wayside. They are all taught by whites!

In spite of the reform image of Wayside, conditions are miserable. The prisoners are housed in huge, dirty barracks with more than 100 cots in one room. Prisoners were no less bitter about the injustices of the prison system for being in a "model" prison.

One Black prisoner in the central jail who had seen 32 months of active duty in Vietnam summed up his bitterness this way: We may be in jail, he said, but we should still be treated like human beings. "We're still people."



Militant/Harry Ring

'Tank' Barrera, SWP candidate for Los Angeles County sheriff.

Death penalty: 'Tool to terrorize the oppressed'

The following is based on a speech by B.R. Washington, Michigan Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general, at a May 10 debate on capital punishment sponsored by the Detroit Militant Forum. Washington debated the Reverend Ray Shoulders, director of the Northwest Black Businessmen's Association and a supporter of restoring the death penalty in Michigan. Shoulders is a leader of the petitioning drive under way to place the issue of capital punishment on the state ballot in November.

Capital punishment is nothing more than a tool used to terrorize the poor and oppressed, especially Black people, in this country.

Look at the figures. Since 1930, there have been nearly 4,000 executions in the U.S. More than 50 percent of those killed were Black. Of 455 people executed for rape convictions in the South, 405 were Black. And these figures don't include any of the Black people unofficially executed in their jail cells by prison guards or shot down in the streets.

In North Carolina today, where capital punishment has been put back on the books, 27 people currently face the death sentence. Twenty-two are Blacks, ranging from a 17-year-old male to a 52-year-old woman.

If we trace the historical roots of the death penalty in this country, we see

how it was used in the South in particular to protect the institution of slavery. In North Carolina until 1837, for example, you could be executed for slave stealing, concealing a slave, or talking to a free mulatto, as well as for murder.

Throughout the history of this country, capital punishment has been used to defend the interests of big businessmen and bankers, to keep workers, Blacks, and other oppressed nationalities in their place.

In the nineteenth century, for example, to combat the wave of militant struggles by railroad workers in the Midwest, Congress passed a law calling for the death penalty for anyone convicted of wrecking a train.

Today, the death penalty is still used to intimidate fighters for social change and to crush movements seeking to end exploitation in this society.

Blacks and other poor people are falsely accused of crimes, railroaded to prison, and some, such as George Jackson, even murdered there. At the same time, mass murderers like Lieutenant William Calley, who slaughtered Vietnamese people "for God and country," get off with light sentences and executive-style treatment at the president's request.

Who ever heard of a cop getting the death penalty for gunning down some innocent Black person?

No rich person ever goes to the

chair. The double standard of American justice is even more glaring when you look at the Watergate crimes. Even the convicted Watergaters in most cases are getting off with a few weeks or months in prison, while thousands of Blacks and Chicanos rot in jail for months just waiting to go to trial.

The capitalists who rob billions of dollars from working people, and the Democratic and Republican politicians who vote for others to die in imperialist wars, are walking around free. The real criminals are the people running this country!

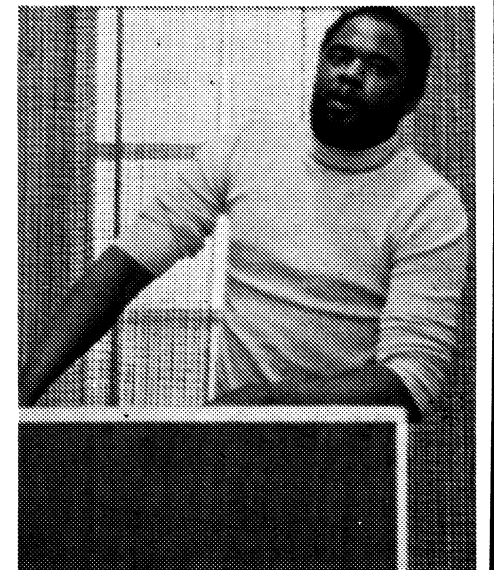
We are told that capital punishment will be a deterrent to crime. But the cause of the high crime rate in our communities is the poverty and despair bred by this racist, capitalist system. For those who say they want to crack down on crime, let them begin by cracking down on the gangs of cops in our communities, let them end the crimes of unemployment and low-paying jobs meted out to Black people.

The promise that capital punishment will end crime is like the promise that the STRESS police unit (a Detroit plainclothes unit) would stop crime in the Black community. Instead, STRESS was used to shoot down and terrorize Black people in Detroit. This unit became so hated by Black people that the police finally had to

abolish it.

We cannot rely on the corrupt, racist police to safeguard our lives. Just the opposite. We need to remove the police from the Black communities and replace them with a force selected and controlled by Black people.

Only when we have rid this society of rule by the tiny minority of the wealthy will we be able to erase the injustices and degradation that are the real cause of crime.



B.R. WASHINGTON: 'Who ever heard of a cop getting the death penalty for gunning down some innocent Black person?'

How Pennsylvania campaign 'reform' law threatens rights of independent candidates

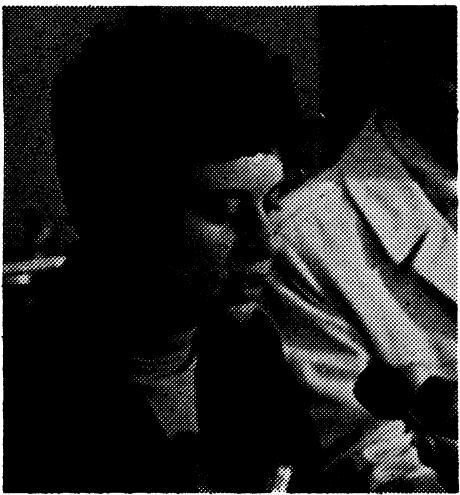
By ROBERTA SCHERR

PHILADELPHIA—In Pennsylvania, as around the country, the Democrats and Republicans are going all-out for election campaign "reform."

Now that Watergate has exposed a tiny fraction of the corruption of their brand of politics, these crooks are anxious to convince the American people that a few "reforms" can patch up the system and make it honest and trustworthy.

Leading the parade is my Democratic Party opponent, Governor Milton Shapp, who calls for a "potent, stringent, and comprehensive reform." He claims his program will establish "the highest standards of conduct in order to restore faith in our democratic process."

These "reform" measures are a fraud. Their real purpose is to reinforce the political stranglehold of the Democratic and Republican parties. Their real victims will be smaller parties like the Socialist Workers Party, and



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Roberta Scherr is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania.

such others as trade unions and Black organizations, whose interests lie in taking political action in opposition to the capitalist parties.

The bill passed in the Pennsylvania general assembly, like most of the "reform" measures around the country, requires financial disclosures during the campaign period.

This will pose no obstacle to the Democrats and Republicans. No doubt their legal staffs are already working overtime figuring out how loopholes in the law will enable them to collect large sums of money without reporting it. This might be done through "laundered" contributions, phony campaign committees, or many other tricks at which the Democrats and Republicans are past masters.

For the SWP and our supporters, however, the disclosure laws represent a serious attack on civil liberties. Members and supporters of the SWP are systematically harassed by the FBI and other government agencies. We have been fired from our jobs, evicted from our homes, arrested on phony charges, spied on, and burglarized.

We have filed suit against the government, documenting many such illegal attacks and demanding that they be halted. The FBI has responded by claiming, in effect, the right to violate our rights whenever it sees fit, on the grounds that the SWP is a danger to "national security."

Demanding that we turn over names of campaign contributors so that they, too, can be harassed is a clear attempt to intimidate people from supporting our campaigns.

In addition, the sheer volume of bookkeeping and paperwork required to compile these financial reports imposes a major burden on us.

The ambiguities and contradictions

in the law, and the hundreds of ways in which it is possible to inadvertently make an error, create a situation in which the government can engage in selective prosecution to victimize us or others on the White House "enemies list."

One of the biggest swindles in the election "reform" package is public financing of elections. But the only thing the federal and state measures will accomplish is to funnel millions of tax dollars from American working people into the campaign chests of the capitalist candidates.

While taxpayers can supposedly contribute to the party of their choice, the "choices" exclude all smaller parties and independent candidates.

For example, in New Jersey, where such a law has already been passed, the only parties to receive public financing will be those that first raise \$40,000. They will be paid \$2 for every \$1 they raise over the \$40,000 mark.

Can you guess how many parties can meet this requirement? Right—only the Democrats and Republicans.

Moreover, the enforcement of all these "reforms" will be in the hands of the election commissions around the country, all of which are handpicked by the Democratic and Republican machines.

If Milton Shapp is really concerned about making the elections more democratic, he should start by proposing to knock down the law that requires the SWP to collect 44,000 signatures on nominating petitions just to get on the ballot in this state.

He should oppose the undemocratic age requirements that bar young people from running in Pennsylvania elections. And he should agree to debate me so that the people of Pennsylvania



Militant/Chris Hildebrand

Campaign 'reform' is really aimed against independent political action by trade unionists, Blacks, and socialists.

can hear the alternatives open to them in this election.

The real source of corruption in politics is not bad individuals or inadequate laws. It is the system itself that is corrupt—a system in which the rich minority rules over the working people, the vast majority.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties are dedicated to upholding this system, and their class loyalties can't be "reformed." To do away with this corruption, working people need our own political party, a labor party based on the trade unions.

Such a party could wage a fight against the capitalist parties, and aim to establish a workers government to build a socialist and genuinely democratic society.

Socialist ballot drive

Petitioning victories celebrated in Texas, Mass.

By CINDY JAQUITH

Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters in Texas and Massachusetts are celebrating the successful completion of their petitioning drives, which brought in a combined total of more than 110,000 signatures to place SWP candidates on the November ballot.

In Texas, petitioners collected 55,178 signatures in less than two weeks. The state requires 34,095 valid signatures.

"We went way over our goal of 50,000," commented Jean Savage, SWP state campaign director. "The speed with which we collected the signatures is in large part attributable to the increased political consciousness created by Watergate. A lot of people are willing to help put a party on the ballot that presents itself as a clear alternative to the Democrats and Republicans."

"There is also a growing concern over inflation and the total inability of either capitalist party to pose any solution," Savage said.

Special full-time teams of volunteers played a major role in the rapid completion of Texas petitioning. These teams brought in 32,410 of the signatures. The Dallas team collected 7,734; the San Antonio team, 8,518; and the Austin team, 5,300. The top team in the state was the Houston team, which turned in 10,858.

Bill Rayson, SWP candidate for land commissioner, was the leading petitioner in the state, with 3,401 signatures.

The attention of SWP campaign supporters in Texas is now shifting to the difficult and time-consuming task of processing the signatures for filing. This involves finding the precinct number for each of the 55,178 signatures and from that, going to another source to look up the voter registration number for each signer.

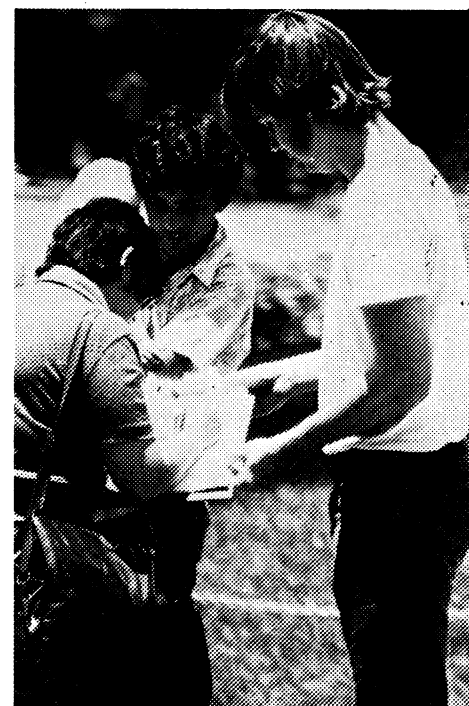
Campaign supporters will celebrate the end of the paper work with a June 15 party at the home of Gertrude Barnstone, a former member of the Houston school board and a supporter of the SWP's right to be on the ballot.

Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for president in 1968, will speak at the party, along with Sherry Smith, Texas socialist candidate for governor.

On June 12 and 13, Halstead will give two lectures on the history of the antiwar movement. On June 14 he will speak on "Nixon, My Favorite Enemy," a talk about the meaning of Watergate.

Massachusetts petitioners held a ballot victory celebration June 1 in Boston. One hundred and fifty people attended to hear Peter Camejo, a member of the SWP national committee, Jeannette Tracy Bliss, SWP candidate in the 9th Congressional District in Massachusetts, and others. More than \$1,300 was collected to help cover the cost of the petitioning and the paper work that now follows.

Special greetings were presented at the meeting from Fawaz Turki, Palestinian author of *The Disinherited*;



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Texas petitioners collected 55,000 signatures in less than two weeks.

the United Community Construction Workers, a group of Black workers fighting racism in the building trades; and the Irish Republican Clubs of Boston.

Campaign supporters in Boston have collected 53,495 signatures for the statewide slate and another 9,000 for congressional candidates Bliss and Randy Dolph, who is running in the 8th C.D. The law requires 37,360 to place SWP gubernatorial candidate

Donald Gurewitz and the rest of the statewide slate on the ballot.

The highest petitioner in Massachusetts was Chris Giordana, who collected 2,849.

Missouri petitioners report the same good response from people who are fed up with Watergate. In the first eight days, campaign supporters collected 15,165 toward their goal of 25,000. Several off-duty GIs have helped in the drive.

"Many people have heard of our senatorial candidate, Barbara Mutnick, because of the extensive news coverage when she was fired from her job for running as a socialist candidate," notes ballot coordinator Liz Jayko. Mutnick is running for the seat currently held by Democrat Thomas Eagleton.

Pennsylvania petitioners have also met many people who have already heard of Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for governor in that state. "Frequently our petitioners are asked, 'Are you collecting signatures for that woman who's running for governor?'" reports Duncan Williams, Philadelphia campaign director. More than 10,000 signatures have been turned in by Philadelphia supporters from one evening and one Saturday mobilization. A special team of full-time volunteer petitioners in Philadelphia has collected another 4,500.

Pennsylvania socialists held a news conference announcing their ballot

Continued on page 22

'Industrial Peace' report attacks right to strike

By FRANK LOVELL

Last year Nixon created the National Commission for Industrial Peace, a group of industrialists and union officials whose purpose is to study ways of eliminating strikes. In May the commission submitted its final report to the White House.

David Cole, an experienced "labor mediator" and an "impartial umpire" under the AFL-CIO internal disputes plan since its inception in 1962, served as chairman of the industrial peace commission.

The industrialists represented steel, auto, construction, and other blocs of invested capital. For the unions Nixon picked AFL-CIO President George Meany, Leonard Woodcock of the Auto Workers, Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers, and Paul Hall of the Seafarers.

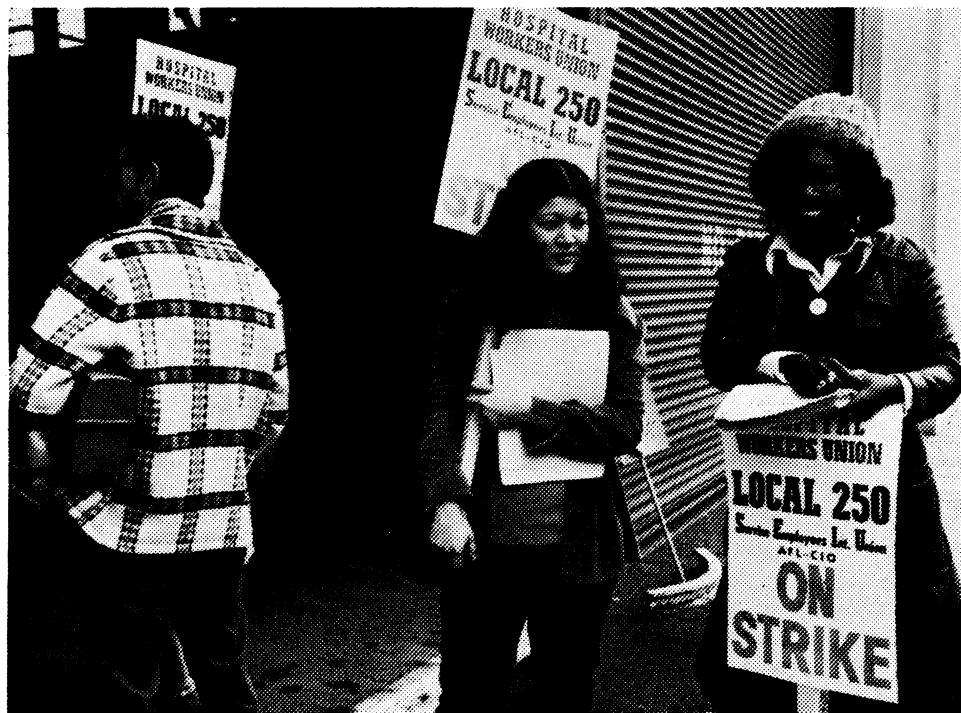
This collection from among the nation's most adroit and successful connivers worked a year to figure out ways to end strikes and begin a new era of industrial peace.

This was not an easy undertaking, nor a new one. Such efforts predate the organized labor movement. From the first, employer associations were formed to stamp out labor organizations, which were judged to be "conspiracies."

When underpaid working men and women combined for the purpose of petitioning their employers for better wages, they were, by the nature of their relation to production, conspiring against the best interest of the boss. This could result in concerted action by the employees to stop working and to discourage others from working for low wages. This is a strike.

One of the most effective ways of preventing strikes was to outlaw them and smash by legal and extralegal means any organization of workers that dared call a strike. The employers have never abandoned this method. But they learned early in the struggle against the workers that more subtle means of weakening and eventually destroying unions are sometimes necessary.

Soon after the formation of the American Federation of Labor in 1886, the employers got together with Samuel Gompers, the first AFL president,



Militant/Howard Petrick

National Commission for Industrial Peace recommends giving union officials free hand to curb strikes by denying membership right to vote on contracts.

and agreed that workers and employers have common interests and that strikes can only harm both sides.

Gompers tried to get higher wages for skilled workers without striking by telling the employers they could well afford to pay a little more because trained mechanics were only a small part of the work force and deserved better treatment than unskilled workers. Besides, the skilled workers were harder to find when needed and were organized, and if they were not paid better wages they would likely strike anyway, which they often did.

One effect of no-strike efforts by Gompers and other craft unionists was to forestall the organization of unskilled workers and make it easier for the employers to break strikes, to smash some unions, and weaken others.

It wasn't until 1935 that a few members of the old AFL executive council got convinced they would have to try and organize the unskilled workers in order to save their own feeble union structure. But this bright idea hit them only because the unskilled workers were already beginning to organize on their own and had managed to call

some effective strikes that tied up two cities—Minneapolis and San Francisco.

This is how the movement to organize the mass-production industries got started. Strikes marked the beginning of the CIO and the modern union movement.

Since the rise of the CIO, every administration, beginning with that of Franklin Roosevelt, has sought federal legislation to curb strikes. The Taft-Hartley law was expressly designed for this purpose in 1947, and has been used effectively ever since.

Another law to curb the power of unions was adopted in 1959. This was the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, commonly called the Landrum-Griffin Act. Its stated purpose was to bring the union hierarchy to heel and make corrupt union officials subject to fines and imprisonment for collusion with employers, graft, and theft of union funds. Not many of the habitually guilty have been prosecuted under this law, but some have been blackmailed by equally corrupt government officials.

The Landrum-Griffin Act has a pre-

amble, Title I, which was put in to make it look as if the law protects certain rights of union members. This is sometimes called "labor's bill of rights." It specifies the right of union members to appeal decisions of their officials, to vote on wage agreements, and to appeal to the federal courts for "reasonable" remedies.

This has put some restraints on the union officialdom, but not many. Union members have gotten small satisfaction from the courts under Landrum-Griffin.

Landrum-Griffin, however, became the target of Nixon's National Commission for Industrial Peace. Not the whole Act, only Title I. That's the part that is supposed to give union members some rights in their own organizations.

"It is argued that unions and their officers have been attacked in legal proceedings so many times that they have tended to become shy and not to exercise the leadership and general responsibility necessary in this controversial area, thus making it possible for minorities to impose their wills on majorities and for relatively small numbers of dissidents to prevent settlements and cause unwarranted turmoil," says the commission's final report.

This is what they came up with: a recommendation to give the union bureaucrats a free hand to curb strikes by depriving the union membership of the right to vote on wage agreements.

The crew of union officials who served on the commission argued that they are more adept at the subtle art of strikebreaking than anyone else. But they forget that the employers still have the ultimate weapon—union busting. This can be more easily used after unions have been pacified by "voluntary" no-strike pledges and other limitations on the inherent power of the union movement.

Most of the problems between labor and management could easily be resolved, the commission implied, if somehow a way could be found to get those unruly and disruptive workers in their proper place—which of course is on the job. What good is a worker who won't work for cheap wages?

8,085 Militants sold in last week of drive

By ROSE OGDEN

The *Militant's* spring sales campaign wound up with sales of the May 31 issue (headlined "Africans demand:

Militant seller convicted

LOS ANGELES—Stu Singer, organizer of the Socialist Workers Party's West Side branch, was convicted May 29 in West Los Angeles municipal court of selling *The Militant* without a license at Los Angeles International Airport. Lawyers are preparing an appeal.

Testimony by an airport official at the trial proved that the city of Los Angeles will not give licenses to sell newspapers, since one company, Host International, has an exclusive contract for such sales. A Host official testified that he would not carry *The Militant* on newsstands because he thought it would be unprofitable.

The judge's ruling denies the right to sell even on city sidewalks at the airport.

The conviction carries a \$25 fine and six months probation.

Free colonies now!"

Supporters report selling 8,085 copies. Thirteen areas successfully met their goals. The total sold represents 81 percent of the national target of 10,000. This is quite good in light of the limited participation of those supporters in Texas, Massachusetts, and Missouri who were involved in petitioning drives to place the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot.

Supporters in Detroit lead the scoreboard with sales of 1,039 *Militants*. This is the fourteenth time during the 18 weeks of the drive that Detroit has surpassed their goal!

Sheila Ostrow, organizer of the Detroit Young Socialist Alliance, reports, "The struggle in Africa, the police attack in Los Angeles, and the role of Black Democrats are very pertinent to the large Black population in Detroit. *The Militant's* coverage of these issues made our sales easy."

John Studer, organizer of the Portland Socialist Workers Party, notes that 202 copies were sold in Portland's Black community. Expansion of regular sales in the Black community will be a focus of summer sales there.

Supporters in various cities sold 450

Militants to participants in the African Liberation Day actions.

Both Central-East and West Side Los Angeles met their goals—totaling 869 sold city-wide. This is the fifth week in a row Central-East supporters achieved their goal, and they plan to continue to shoot for the 350 target throughout the summer.

Local areas are now evaluating the progress of *The Militant's* spring sales campaign in their cities. A future issue of *The Militant* will assess this national effort to expand the influence of *The Militant* and discuss prospects for summer sales. Readers interested in selling *The Militant* in their cities should send in the coupon on page 23.

Sales scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	LAST WEEK	%	SOLD
Detroit	450	1,039	231	
Albany, N.Y.	25	50	200	
Louisville	25	42	168	
L.A. (Central-East)	350	466	133	
L.A. (West Side)	350	403	115	
Bellingham	30	32	107	
Philadelphia	400	412	103	
Portland	325	333	102	
Seattle	425	432	102	
Washington, D.C.	400	402	101	
Amarillo	5	5	100	
Ossining	25	25	100	
Pittsburgh	375	375	100	
Chicago	700	639	91	
Ann Arbor	35	31	89	
Atlanta	500	426	85	
Upper West Side (N.Y.)	475	390	82	
Athens, Ga.	35	28	80	
Lower Manhattan	500	378	76	
Cleveland	350	246	70	
Brooklyn	450	305	68	
Oakland/Berkeley	800	544	68	
Twin Cities	350	209	60	
San Diego	325	193	59	
Logan	30	16	53	
Denver	450	195	43	
Bloomington	100	40	40	
Tucson	50	20	40	
San Francisco	525	145	28	
Houston	500	105	21	
St. Louis	325	59	18	
Boston	700	100	14	
TOTAL SOLD				
LAST WEEK	10,000	8,085	81	

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

JUNE 14, 1974

Charges 'violate every constitutional principle'

Attorney describes junta's show trial in Santiago

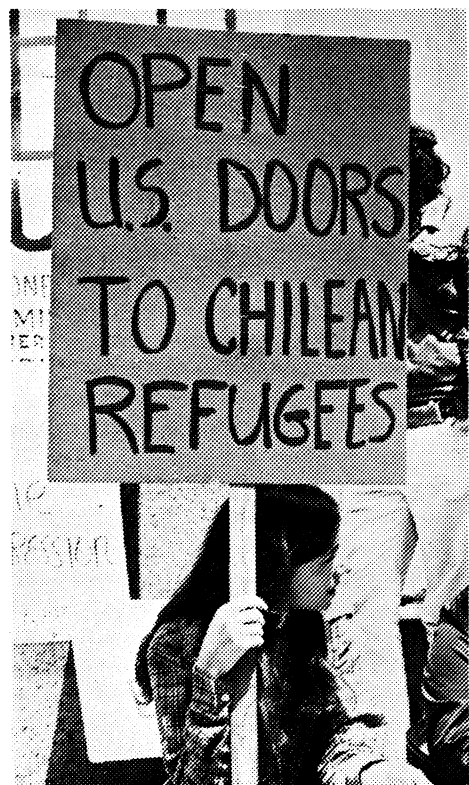
[The following are major excerpts of an interview obtained by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners with Martin Garbus of the New York City Bar Association. As part of the Lawyers Committee for Chile, Garbus recently traveled to Santiago, where he observed the junta's show trial of sixty-seven air force and civilian personnel on charges of conspiracy. The entire interview will appear in the July-August 1974 issue of the *USLA Reporter*.]

Question. Can you explain why, in your opinion, the military junta set up these open trials?

Answer. I see the trials as an attempt, on the part of the junta, to establish a basis of legitimacy, to show that due process is being followed and that people are being treated fairly.

To some extent, the junta got a good deal of political mileage out of our being there, because then they were able to report to the world that they were so confident of their procedures, they could open the trials and allow people such as ourselves to come down and observe them. I think they have made a calculated decision that whatever we have to say about them when we get back will not cut into the good effect the junta has had by saying that the trials are open.

The open trials and Kissinger's upcoming trip to Chile are, together, the cornerstones of the junta's claim of legitimacy.



Philadelphia, May 11

Militant/Jon Flanders

Q. Can you describe the atmosphere of the trials?

A. The experience of observing the trials was remarkable. Each morning, as our car approached within 250 feet of the air force academy where they were being held, we were stopped by four soldiers dressed in fatigues, with machine guns over their shoulders, fingers on the triggers. After they checked our credentials, we walked down the road to the academy between lines of soldiers—seeing more soldiers, tense and armed, behind embankments, trees, and bushes, watching us and everything that might be moving toward the academy.

At the academy entrance we passed another checkpoint, a dozen more soldiers, and then were led to a small gatehouse where we emptied our pockets, took off our jackets, and were given a finger search on each part of our bodies.

The government presents its case without live witnesses. The prosecutor relies solely upon the confessions of the defendants to prove his case. In cases where the penalties are twenty and thirty years, it sometimes takes the junta twenty minutes to present its case. Before the trials were opened, the military tribunal felt that by sitting four hours a day, the sixty-seven trials could be finished in a week to ten days. However, it now appears it can't be done that quickly.

Q. Do the lawyers who are defending the sixty-seven people on trial have leftist leanings?

A. The leftist lawyers have either left the country or are too afraid to take these kinds of cases, and with very good reason. All of the defendants originally had great difficulty in obtaining lawyers. Nearly all of their present attorneys are from the right or center, originally supporters of the junta, and former opponents of Allende.

Q. We understand you were able to meet with representatives of the junta.

A. Yes. They tried to assure us that elections would come back, and that they had no plans of turning Chile into a military dictatorship. They said they felt that Chile would be ready for elections in five to ten years.

Q. The junta has recently termed reports that Chilean prisoners have been tortured "a grave distortion of reality." Did you see any evidence of torture when you were in Chile?

A. I did not see any torture. Of course, they would not allow me to see that. But I spoke to many people



Chicago May 11 Chile protest

who had been tortured, and the compilations that have been put together—such as the one by the International Commission of Jurists—are, to the best of my knowledge, accurate.

Q. Have any of the lawyers for the defendants attempted to raise evidence on torture in Chile as part of their cases?

A. Yes. There are two lawyers we should talk about. At the end of the first day, one of the lawyers told the press that he thought he was going to raise the issue of torture—he called it maltreatment. He was told by a judge of the military tribunal, who overheard him, that if this were done, he would be arrested for treason. He hasn't raised the issue.

Another lawyer raised the issue of the constitutionality of the court, the legitimacy of the junta to suspend the courts and then try people. That lawyer was immediately removed from the case, and is now in the process of being disbarred. What happened to him, no one knows.

Some of the lawyers who feel that ultimately they are going to have to raise issues that will displease the regime are thinking of sending their wives and children out of the country.

Q. Each of the defendants on trial has signed a confession. What do these confessions admit?

A. With respect to the confessions, there is one thing I ought to point out. These defendants are being charged with having supported the Allende regime prior to September 11, 1973. The military junta's theory is that after 1970, the Allende government acted illegally, that it wasn't following the rule of law. So anything that was done by people in support of the Allende government, from 1970 to 1973, was illegal. When speeches were made by the various defendants saying "I support the Allende government," or "Let's do this; let's do that," these acts—which were perfectly legal at the time, and in fact were part of the democratic process—are now characterized by the junta as evidence of treason! One of the remarkable things about the confessions is that, by and large, they are true. These people did say these things and did do those things.

There's another factor involved. Early in 1973, people in the Allende regime began to become concerned about a coup, and, in fact, there was a small coup prior to September 11. What you had in the Allende regime was people talking about how to stop a coup. Those people who tried to defend the government from a coup are defendants in this case, on the grounds that they were seeking to perpetuate an illegal regime. This may be hard for you to grasp because it's

Continued on following page

...attorney describes Chile junta's show trial

Continued from preceding page

such nonsense. It's really an Alice-in-Wonderland theory, and it violates every constitutional principle that anyone could possibly be familiar with.

Q. Has the Chilean press been reporting on the trials?

A. The Chilean press is a totally controlled press. It does cover the trials. I could show you some of the clippings. They're pure propaganda. The prosecutor's allegations in the trial each day are interspersed with the front-page news in the press in order, it seems, to justify his claims in the trial.

The second day of the trial, for

example, the press carried announcements of the arrests of thousands of "extremists" in the workers' quarters in Santiago. The third day, the government announced that 10,000 "extremists" were massing on the Argentine border, preparing to invade Chile. Then the story disappeared. Nothing more was ever heard of it. The following day, there was a news story that those who had been confined on Dawson Island—a concentration camp in the south of Chile—had arms and were planning revolutionary acts. Those of us who are familiar with the security precautions at Dawson Island know, of course, that this would be impossible. So, the Chilean press is a very important tool, if you will, for the junta.

Q. What about the international press? How have they treated the trials?

A. A Swiss newsman who the junta felt was not reporting the trials fairly disappeared for five days. No one knew where he was. The last time he was seen was at the Santiago airport, leaving the country under military escort.

The *New York Times* has two people covering South America. The *Times* people know that if they print stories that are critical of the government, they will get booted out. So, there's a kind of self-censorship that goes into these articles. I would say that by and large the coverage of the trials that you see in the American and European press has nothing dishonest in it, but it has never told the full story. It has never related the trials in their entirety. It hasn't pointed out, for example, that even as these open trials are going on, there are thousands of closed trials going on in Santiago and throughout the country, where people are being killed.

Q. Were you able to visit Dawson Island and other prison camps?

A. I have not visited Dawson Island. They wouldn't let anyone in—not even the Red Cross. I have not visited prison camps, only the jail in Santiago. The jail cells there are six feet by eight feet. They have men sleeping nose to nose. The cells were probably meant for two people.

The sixty-seven defendants that we saw did not look terrible. They brought everybody in the first day and everybody looked nice and shiny. The torture had been a long time ago and everything they wore was freshly pressed.

Q. Do you think the junta moved the prisoners in from Dawson Island to prepare them for trials where the



signs of torture would be unseen?

A. Yes. Dawson Island has become synonymous with something like Buchenwald. It's the name that connotes something. I think they wanted to get rid of that image. Also they felt you can hold people for just so long. A lot of these people were arrested at the end of September—six or seven months now—and by and large without seeing lawyers or their families. At some point you've got to come to grips with that.

Churches, jurists hit torture in Chile

A new spate of documentation of abuses of Chilean dissidents was made public during the middle of May.

Most important was the release in Mexico May 16 of the report of an interchurch group, the Committee of Cooperation for Peace in Chile; it contained evidence on hundreds of cases of torture since the military seized power eight months ago. Reporting on the documents, the May 17 *New York Times* quoted the committee as saying, "The tortures noted here are only those that leave no margin of doubt."

Among the cases included were a number involving people who had been tortured to death, according to committee members. The evidence came from "traces on the victims' bodies, when there is an absence of any other cause" of death.

"In one case," the report stated, "a seventeen-year-old minor under detention told a visitor about the mistreatment he had received. Two days

later he was reported to have died while attempting to escape."

This report served as the basis for the Catholic Church's statement last month criticizing the junta's violations of human rights (see *Intercontinental Press*, May 6, p. 539).

Also on May 16, a three-member delegation of the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva issued a preliminary report on their ten-day visit to Chile. They stated that there are still 10,000 political prisoners in that country with no charges against them.

"At times," the attorneys stated, they suffer mistreatment that "takes the form of severe torture exercised systematically."

Denunciations of torture and repression by a lawyers' group in Paris were reported in the May 14 *La Opinion*, and a major article on the question was published in the May 13 *Wall Street Journal*.

Inflation, unemployment behind fall of Trudeau gov't

The Canadian government headed by Pierre Elliot Trudeau was defeated May 8 when it lost a no-confidence motion in the House of Commons over its proposed budget.

The opposition Conservative party joined with the New Democratic (labor) party on a motion that defeated the Liberals by 137 to 123. A federal election has been called for July 8.

The key issue in the Trudeau government's downfall was inflation—the government's failure to stem prices, now rising at a rate of 10.4 percent a year. The NDP motion, without proposing any alternative, simply condemned the government's "failure to apply any measures to help pensioners or others on fixed incomes, to deal with the housing crisis, and to remove the glaring inequalities of the tax system."

In fact, the Conservatives favor the application of wage controls, while the NDP calls for "selective price controls" and a "two-price system" under which basic commodities would be sold at world-market prices abroad but at lower, subsidized prices in Canada.

Trudeau has been prime minister

since 1968, when as newly appointed leader of the Liberal party he was elected to office on a wave of personal popularity that Canadians called "Trudeaumania." With 152 of the house's 264 seats, his government was the first since 1962 to have a clear parliamentary majority. But increasing unemployment, the continuing rise of Québécois nationalism, and the government's general inability to respond to the popular illusions about Trudeau led to a decline in the government's support. In the October 1972 election, the Liberals were once more reduced to a minority position in parliament, and they continued to hang on to the government only with the support of the New Democrats, who held 31 seats.

That informal coalition (although the NDP consistently voted with the government, it was never represented in the cabinet) lasted for a year and a half. But in recent months the alliance came under increasing strain, as a series of labor struggles spurred by inflation put pressure on the trade-union-based NDP to break its links with the Liberals.

The Canadian Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International, will give critical support to the NDP in this elec-

tion, calling for a vote for the NDP as an elementary expression of working-class political action but giving no support to the Social Democratic party's program.



Inflation was key issue in fall of Trudeau. Here strikers in Montreal say: 'It's high time to catch up with the cost of living!' and 'We're through working for peanuts!'

Peron's May Day rally continues attack on left-wing followers

By Judy White

The repercussions of Juan Perón's May Day attack on his youthful left-wing supporters are still rumbling in Argentina.

The only political group that demonstratively opposed attending Perón's "Festival of Labor and National Unity" was the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). The April 24 issue of the PST's weekly *Avanzada Socialista* carried the headline "We are not going to Plaza de Mayo" (site of Perón's rally). The editors explained:

"The Peronist government will hold its rally at the Plaza de Mayo. Those present will include the [trade-union] bureaucracy, [Economics Minister] Gelbard, the JP [Juventud Peronista—Peronist Youth], the armed forces, and the church. Under the umbrella of this 'national unity' held by the president, the government wants to get the workers to support the Social Pact, the wage freeze, the firings resulting from the Law on Redundancy, and the repression at Villar—all policies that the old gorillas support. Perón has the right to organize that rally to defend his policies and we think it would be an error and a provocation to try to change the content of it. The rally will be what Perón, [Minister of Labor] Otero, and the organizers want it to be. But we have the right to say to the workers that they should not go and support that anti-worker line. We invite them to participate in the antibureaucratic, anti-boss, anti-imperialist, anticapitalist, socialist, and internationalist rally that the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores is calling."

The PST-organized rally in Buenos Aires was held at the Plaza Flores on April 30. On the platform were worker activists from Villa Constitución, Ledesma, Banco Nación, and other unions that have been fighting Perón's policies on the job in recent weeks. Alongside them were leading members of the PST and a leader of the Chilean Partido Socialista Revolu-

cionario (Revolutionary Socialist party, Chilean section of the Fourth International).

The crowd included many delegations from high schools and colleges mobilized by the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (Vanguard Socialist Youth). Messages of revolutionary solidarity from organizations in several Latin American countries and the United States were read.

The rally was in marked contrast to the Plaza de Mayo "Festival" organized by the Peronists. On the general's platform were the leaders of various bourgeois parties. The crowd of 60,000 to 100,000 was made up of right-wing trade-union hacks, the JP and Montoneros, and individuals who had come on their own. Almost half the crowd was mobilized by the JP and Montoneros; the trade-union bureaucrats had made little effort to get workers to the rally.

The JP and Montoneros had called on people to attend the Plaza de Mayo rally "in spite of the threats and intimidation" they had suffered because, they stated, it was necessary to be present where the masses were, to change the content of the rally, and to support "the process initiated May 25 [the day the Peronists took office in 1973], which is today menaced by a proimperialist gorilla offensive."

They marched into the Plaza in formation, chanting, "What's going on, General? The national government is full of gorillas," and "The union bureaucracy is going to be done away with."

As Perón crowned the Queen of Labor, the youth shouted, "We don't want carnaval [Mardi Gras]; we want a popular assembly."

There was only one speaker at the Plaza de Mayo rally—the general. He lauded the rightists as the "backbone of our movement," and attacked the "beardless," "insolent," "stupid" youth for not approving "everything we have done" in the "twenty years of struggle" that he said the Peronist movement had waged. He also accused his young supporters of being "infiltrators who work from within . . . the majority of whom are mercenaries in the service of foreign capital."



Right-wing Peronists chase left Peronists at Peron's May Day rally

As Perón began his insults, the youth withdrew from the Plaza de Mayo, singing "The traitors remain, the fighters leave." Their departure was accompanied by scattered confrontations with the police, who fired tear gas into the crowd and made some arrests.

The PST, in the May 3 *Avanzada Socialista*, stated its opinion of the course taken by the Montoneros and the Juventud Peronista: "We believe that you cannot oppose the union bureaucrats meaningfully without denouncing the support that the Perón regime gives the caste controlling the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] and the unions. The JP has done the opposite: They have sought a thousand explanations to try to show why the bureaucrats and traitors are in their posts. They have even gone so far as to say that it is due to the immaturity of the workers movement. To sum up, they have given all arguments except the right one: that the bureaucrats are where they are principally because Perón and his government support them, as they were supported before by the military dictatorship and still earlier by Frondizi."

The statement continued, "Perón has made it clear that he favors the bureaucracy he created twenty years ago. You are wrong to maintain that the bureaucracy has 'infiltrated' into the [workers] movement and that it has been sustained and has grown against the will of Perón."

The CGT bureaucracy understood the meaning of Perón's speech, *La Nación* indicated in its May 6 issue. The executive committee of the CGT, the bourgeois journal reported, showed a "marked reserve about forming judgments on the new stage opened for Peronism" resulting from the speech. However, the article went on, there was a general sentiment that the unions had gotten the go-ahead for a fight "if the insolent ones don't give in."

For several days, there was stony silence from those who had been "critical supporters" of the general since he took office in October 1973. The first break in the silence came from some Peronists in Havana May 10, as reported in *La Opinión*. Juan Carlos Dante Gullo, speaking for a delegation of JP leaders visiting Cuba, called for "the creation of a broad liberation front of all sectors opposing imperialist domination of Argentina." He condemned "the rightist press for suggesting there had been a rupture between the youthful crowd who withdrew from the May 1 rally and Perón."

Then, on May 16, a press conference

was held in Buenos Aires by the Montoneros and the JP. Mario Firmenich, the central leader of the Montoneros, read a document signed by the two groups. In it they complained that a dialogue with Perón was not achieved because the general "does not permit anyone to ask him why the traitors of yesterday have now become the heroes of the homeland, and the gorillas of yesterday have become the fervent Peronists we are told to respect today." The Montoneros and the JP reiterated their opposition to the Social Pact, but defended the foreign policy of the regime and advocated an undefined "popular and revolutionary nationalism."

It was widely rumored that the joint statement signaled a return of the Montoneros to guerrilla warfare, this time with the active participation of the JP.

The most important sign that the general has not lost control of the bulk of the left wing of his movement, however, was the announcement of a new series of meetings between the JP and the JPA (Juventudes Políticas Argentinas—Argentine Political Youth, the youth group of orthodox Peronism). The meetings were part of a "dialogue" between the regime and other political parties interested in promoting "national unity." The "dialogue" of May 22 involved the JP and Ricardo Balbín, the top leader of the bourgeois Unión Cívica Radical (UCR—Radical Civic Union).



Workers' meeting April 30 in Villa Constitución, where rank-and-file unionists have been engaged in struggle against Peronist union bureaucracy.

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British workers fight to defend living standards

By Elizabeth Smith

London

"Scanlon Orders: Stop Britain Now," read the headline on the London *Evening News* on May 9, as strike instructions went out to 1,200,000 engineering workers.

The national executive of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), headed by president Hugh Scanlon, voted to call its membership out in protest at the seizure of its assets by the National Industrial

Relations Court (NIRC).

Almost immediately, the production of national newspapers ceased, the major car producers (Ford, British Leyland, and Triumph) shut down completely, and power plants lost production.

The AUEW has forfeited over £200,000 in defying rulings of the NIRC. In the latest development, the court had ordered the AUEW's assets seized because the union had refused to pay the damages levied against it after a work stoppage at a small plant south of London seven months ago.

The court's ruling was all the more outrageous in that the source of its authority, the Industrial Relations Act passed by the previous Conservative government, is due to be repealed soon and replaced by the Labour government's "Trade Union and Labour Relations Bill," which has been drawn up with the participation and approval of the Trades Union Congress (TUC).

Labour MPs and ministers, furious at the court's decision against the AUEW, saw it, in the words of some, as a "last act of provocation" by the NIRC's presiding judge, Sir John Donaldson. Renee Short, MP, a member of the Labour party's National Executive, said, "It is quite fantastic. The court wants to break the union, and the union and the labour movement will not stand for it."

Just as the strike was beginning to

take effect, however, the NIRC was approached by an anonymous donor offering to pay £65,000 to cover the fines and damages levied against the union. Only twenty-four hours previously, the court had rejected the same offer. This time it accepted, the union's assets were returned, and the strike was called off.

Sir John Donaldson claimed that "the payment did not involve any surrender of the court's authority." But the *Economist* commented that "whilst the law was eventually technically enforced, [the court] had suffered yet another crushing moral defeat."

The continuation, even though temporarily, of the Conservatives' Industrial Relations Act and incomes policy has brought wide layers of the labour movement into conflict with the minority Labour government.

Workers from the public and social service sector, with no tradition of trade-union militancy, are now moving into opposition to the government to defend their standards of living and conditions of work.

On April 29 virtually all London schools closed as teachers walked out in support of their claim for an increase of £230 in their London Allowance, a salary adjustment to compensate for higher living costs in the London area. In the afternoon some 20,000 persons, mainly young teachers, marched to parliament to lobby MPs. It was the largest demonstration ever held by teachers in Britain.

Joining the teachers march were members of the National Association of Local Government Officers (NALGO), who are also pressing for an increased London Allowance. Some of the more militant NALGO associations are already taking action, despite appeals by Len Murray, the general secretary of the Trades Union Congress, to "give the Labour government a chance."

Barbara Castle, former Labour minister for employment and now minister for health and social services, was besieged April 30 by a demonstration of 1,500 nurses demanding an increase in their pay and better working conditions. On May 9, in what is said to be the first nurses strike in fifty years, nurses in one of Britain's largest mental hospitals, at Huddersfield, left their wards for over an hour. Nurses throughout the country held meetings and demonstrations that day in support of their demands.

As Murray's attitude and the AUEW's ending of its overtime ban indicate, the new Labour government has been relatively successful in its dealings with the TUC. Its food subsidies and a £10 million tax rebate to trade unions penalized by the previous Conservative government, have been popular. Nevertheless, the last Labour government's attempt to shackle the unions with its "In Place of Strife" legislation remains fresh in the memories of many trade unionists.



Hospital workers' rally

In answer to the 'Guardian'

Why Mao sent 8 million youth to the countryside

By Les Evans

Carl Davidson, writing in the May 29 Maoist weekly *Guardian*, undertakes to refute my article in *The Militant* of May 24, which explained how eight million young workers, students, and intellectuals have been deported to the Chinese countryside for their radical opposition to bureaucratism in China.

According to Davidson, no one is being persecuted but a handful of young people, "primarily from the more privileged class backgrounds." Such youth, he alleges, became a problem for the Chinese workers state because under Mao's former colleague and head of state Liu Shao-ch'i, who was deposed in 1966, "the universities had become generators of a privileged elite."

Davidson must have sensed that his defense of the Maoist line is weak, because he ignores the facts I presented. Let us examine the facts. First, are the students dangerously petty-bourgeois and unreliable?

Davidson writes as though the quota system in Chinese schools for promoting worker and peasant youth emerged only with the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69. This is untrue. In 1958, Peking claimed that 48 percent of all college students were workers and peasants, while for middle schools (high schools) this figure reached 75.2 percent. In 1962 the figure of 67 percent was given for colleges.

What has been the result of the Cultural Revolution? The drastic cutbacks

in higher education mean that even if all college students were from working-class and peasant backgrounds, far fewer go to college today, after Mao's reforms, than was the case ten years ago.

Second, Davidson never mentions how many youth have been sent to the countryside. The number is eight million! This figure was published by Peking itself in a December 22, 1973, dispatch by the official Hsinhua news agency.

We should remember that before the Cultural Revolution there were never more than 800,000 college students in China and about 12.5 million middle-school students. When eight million youth are sent to the countryside, this is ten times the whole college population of China (which has been vastly reduced in recent years anyway) and comprises virtually the entire high school population of the urban areas. In other words, it includes youth who are overwhelmingly from working-class backgrounds.

Furthermore, consider these facts in connection with Davidson's claims that the purpose of sending youth to the countryside is to place "their skills at the service of the monumental effort to transform China's countryside." Davidson turns his back on the Leninist position that industrialization, for which the expansion of education is an inescapable prerequisite, is the only road forward to raising the standard of living of the peasants.

He never mentions the fact that college graduations last year were only 14 percent of what they were ten years

ago. How have Mao's cutbacks in the education of worker-youth helped China toward industrialization? How have they aided mechanization of agriculture and freeing the peasants from rural drudgery?

Even if it were true that the urban youth needed more hard work to inculcate them against petty-bourgeois ideas, why choose to send them into the countryside to be "reeducated" by the peasantry rather than to the factories to be taught by the industrial workers?

The working class, not the peasantry, is the most reliable defender of the workers state. Why has Mao done everything in his power to keep the youth as far away from the workers as possible? Davidson not only refuses to answer this crucial question, he pretends not to have noticed that it was central to the article that he purports to reply to.

Davidson also leaves out entirely the background of how the youth happened to be sent to the countryside, which reveals Mao's real motive, a motive that has nothing whatever to do with the alleged elitism of the youth or the need to improve the lot of the peasantry. Wasn't it Mao himself who promoted the formation of the Red Guards, who called on the student youth to "make revolution" against the party headquarters in 1966? Davidson conveniently forgets this when he denounces the "elitism" of the youth.

The truth is that Mao was trying to use the youth as a battering ram against rival privileged bureaucrats

such as Liu Shao-ch'i. The supposed elitism of the worker-student youth of the cities was only "discovered" by Mao when the Red Guards threatened to turn against the privileged bureaucrats on Mao's side.

The Red Guards, most of them high school students, were deported by the millions to the countryside—not to share the lot of the peasants but to be silenced, dispersed, sent to the most remote regions, and kept away from the industrial workers.

Let me close by citing the testimony of Yeung Cheng, one of the revolutionary left-wing Red Guard leaders from Canton who escaped to exile in Hong Kong, where he remains an active revolutionary:

"Eventually the Red Guards were totally suppressed by Mao, our organization was dissolved and banned, and we were told by the bureaucrats to go down to the villages and work there. The main reason that Mao sent the Red Guards to the farms and villages was because he didn't want them to rise up again in the cities. And we were obliged to go to the villages because we couldn't find a living in the cities, because the government didn't allow us to get a job in the city area. . . .

"Actually we were very happy to accept a hard life provided that life is worked for the people, for the benefit of all the people. But during the Cultural Revolution we saw that this system was no longer a system for the benefit of the people but only for the benefit of the bureaucrats." (*Intercontinental Press*, May 6, 1974.)

...demand investigation of Colo. explosions

Continued from page 24

An additional statement was made at the news conference by leaders of UMAS at the University of Colorado in both Boulder and Denver, the Chicano Law Students, the UMAS chapter at Metropolitan State College, and the Farm Labor Task Force at Colorado University in Boulder.

The students said the police explanations for the bombings "not only relieve the police of the need to investigate facts that tend to deflate their theory, but also give them the opportunity to accuse, try, and convict our dead brothers and sisters, who can no longer defend themselves."

"Additionally, the police seem to be using the hysteria created by their theory to obtain scores of search warrants that are being used to harass and intimidate many innocent people."

Police and press accounts of the two explosions leave many questions unanswered.

For example, referring to the first explosion, Boulder Deputy Chief of Police Lowell Friesen told the *Denver Post* that the bomb had to be in

the passenger section of the car (thereby implying that it was being worked on at the time of the explosion) rather than under the hood (which could indicate a murder attempt), because of the direction in which the parts of the car were scattered around the park.

"The floor board went south, the seats went north, and the car doors went east and west," Friesen said.

Had the bomb been on the front seat, however, the seat would have been exploded in the same direction as the floor board. The fact that they were exploded in the opposite direction supports the view that the bomb may have been hidden between the seat and the floor board.

Moreover, the two explosions took place in public, well-traveled areas of Boulder. The first car to explode was parked under a street light in Boulder's Chatauqua Park only 70 yards from a residential area. The second explosion occurred in a car parked in a lot of a Burger King in Boulder, on a busy street right near a liquor store. It is highly unlikely that the occupants of these cars would be attempting to assemble bombs in such public areas.

No evidence has been put forward by the authorities to link any of the Chicano activist victims of the explosions to any terrorist activity. And the presence of two people in the cars who were not even active in the Chicano movement casts further doubt on the theory that bombs were being prepared.

The press-police attempt to explain these explosions is rightly greeted here with widespread skepticism. The student leaders at the May 31 news conference asked if these deaths might not be "part of the nationwide conspiracy documented by the [recently released COINTELPRO] FBI memos?"

Corky Gonzales, in his statement, said, "we have reason to suspect that we are dealing with highly skilled killers, who have access to the most technical and sophisticated resources and materials. Their methods have been used in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Cambodia, Africa, Asia, Chile, and across South America."

These suspicions are justified by a long history here in which police have attempted to portray Chicano victims of murder and legal frame-ups as criminals. In many previous instances the suppression of evidence by authorities and a smear campaign by the media have been part of this pattern.

The most obvious example of this is the March 17, 1973, police attack on the Escuela Tlatelolco, a school run by the Crusade for Justice, which resulted in the death of Luis "Junior" Martinez, a Crusade activist.



Bombed ruins of Crusade for Justice school after 1973 police assault. Many believe Boulder killings are part of pattern of government-inspired violence against Chicano movement.

In the course of this attack an explosion destroyed a dormitory of the school. While claiming that the destruction of the dorm was a result of explosives kept by the Crusade and set off during the attack, authorities sent in a wrecking crew to remove all possible evidence that could be used by the Crusade to disprove this slander.

Moreover, since the March 17 attack, more than 100 Raza Unida Party, Crusade, and other movement leaders and activists, including Ernesto Vigil, John Haro, Gary Garrison, Francisco Martinez, José Calderón, and Mario Vásquez, have been framed up on various charges. The phony nature of these cases has been indicated by the fact that almost all those who have gone to trial have been acquitted.

These facts indicate that what is in-

involved here is a campaign of harassment aimed at putting the Chicano movement on the defensive and victimizing its leaders.

A full investigation is needed to uncover all the facts and to expose any links that may exist between this latest tragedy and previous government-inspired attacks on the Chicano movement.

As a first step toward this, the Crusade for Justice and the Raza Unida Party, along with other organizations, have urged support for a rally on June 8 at Columbus (Raza) Park in Denver, to memorialize the dead Chicanos.

For more information and to send messages of solidarity, contact the Crusade for Justice, 1567 Downing St., Denver, Colo. 80218. Telephone: (303) 222-0825.

SWP urges full inquiry

The following statement was released by Nora Danielson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Colorado governor, and Jack Marsh, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate from Colorado.

We pledge our full support to the demand for an investigation into the Boulder explosions that led to the tragic deaths of six people May 27 and 29.

In solidarity with the Chicano movement, we condemn the efforts of the police and news media to suppress and distort the evidence surrounding the bombings. We demand that the Boulder and Denver police departments, the Colorado Bureau of Investigation, and the FBI open their records to public scrutiny so that all can see what role government-inspired violence may have played in this latest incident.

The police and FBI must be forced to reveal all their secret plans to harass, intimidate, and otherwise disrupt the struggles of Chicanos, Blacks, socialists, and others fighting for social justice.

An independent commission of inquiry is needed to bring out the facts in the Boulder explosions. The police and the news media have proven that they have no interest in seeing the truth come to light.

LA action protests bombings

LOS ANGELES—Chicanos here responded quickly to the Colorado killings. Nearly 150 people marched in protest in a picket line outside the federal courthouse here June 3. The demonstrators, most of them Chicano students and youth, shouted, "Seis compañeros asesinados, jamás serán olvidados" (Six comrades assassinated, will never be forgotten), and other slogans.

The picket had originally been called by the National Committee to Free Los Tres, to demand that all charges be dropped against the three Chicano antidrug activists

framed up by the government. But when word was received of the Colorado tragedy, the committee broadened the protest and sought the involvement of other movement organizations.

Other sponsors included CASA, La Raza Unida Party, MECHA, La Vida Nueva, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and October League.

Spanish-language radio and television covered the picket line, thus helping to break the otherwise total media blackout in Los Angeles of the Colorado killings.

Kate Millett aids defense effort for artists in Iran

By MINA AZAD and JOHN VOTAVA
Babak Zahraie, national secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), recently completed a West Coast tour to win support for victims of the shah's repression.

The Iranian Student Association (ISA) at the University of Washington in Seattle and at Portland State University sponsored meetings for Zahraie. While in the Northwest he also spoke at Seattle University and the Seattle Militant Forum.

The University of Washington ISA pledged \$200 to the work of CAIFI, and the Portland State chapter pledged the proceeds of their New Year's Eve banquet.

The *Oregonian*, Portland's largest daily, ran an article on the tour, head-

lined "Iranian activist cites 'global Watergate.'" The newspaper went on to quote Zahraie as saying: "People know how President Nixon has operated here with the Watergate situation, and the shah of Iran is just a part of an international Watergate."

"It's not just bugging and spying in Iran, but executions and outright violations of democratic rights."

"They're ruthless in Iran. What I want to accomplish is to bring this to public attention."

On May 23 at the University of California at Berkeley, Kate Millett, noted feminist author, appeared with Zahraie to speak for CAIFI. A front-page article appeared the next day in the campus newspaper, the *Daily Californian*. It quoted Millett as citing "the Shah of Iran's arbitrary sup-

pression and imprisonment of students, artists, writers, intellectuals and all others who oppose his despotic rule" as the reason for this defense effort.

"We are all poorer for the repression of our fellow writers and intellectuals in Iran," Millett said. After the meeting, she became an endorser of CAIFI.

Zahraie's talk centered on the long history of repression of democratic rights in Iran. Victims of this repression include artists, intellectuals, political dissidents, as well as members of national minorities, which make up 60 percent of the country's population.

Zahraie also pointed to the role of the U.S. government. Since 1971, arms aid to Iran from Washington has totaled \$4.5-billion.

During the discussion after Zahraie's talk at the University of California, a handful of Iranian Maoists attacked CAIFI for its work in defense of Reza Baraheni, a well-known poet and literary critic. The Maoists argued that only "Marxist-Leninists" should be defended from the shah's repression. Their attack was aimed at disrupting the meeting as a whole, but they failed.

In responding to the Maoists, Zahraie explained the need to defend all victims of the shah's terror, regardless of their political views. This is the most effective way, he said, to secure democratic rights in Iran.

To support the work of the committee, write to Committee to Defend Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, 309A Low Library, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027.

Leon Trotsky: against individual terrorism

Against Individual Terrorism by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 1974. 50 cents.

Israeli troops stormed into a school at Maalot May 15, gunning down three Palestinian guerrillas and, in all likelihood, most of the student hostages who were killed. Two days later, a small army of Los Angeles cops shot or burned to death six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

The two murderous assaults symbolize the revival in recent years of groups advocating or practicing individual terrorism as a strategy for

Pamphlets

revolution, as well as the brutal response of the capitalist rulers.

These groups have involved many young people around the world, motivated by hatred for injustice and determined to challenge the oppressors in a struggle for freedom.

Tragically, their frustration, impatience with the slowness or weakness of the workers movement, and the lack of mass revolutionary parties to give leadership to their actions, have led them into the dead end of terrorism, with needless sacrifice of the lives of dedicated and heroic revolutionaries.

Most of them were probably unaware that the



Struggle of Trotsky and Lenin against terrorist strategy is rich in lessons.

efficacy of terrorism has been debated by revolutionaries for more than a century, and that both theoretical argument and the crucial test of practice have shown this course to be impotent.

Especially rich in lessons is the long political struggle of the Russian Marxists against the terrorist organizations Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) and the Social Revolutionary Party, both of which had significant mass followings.

Leon Trotsky wrote and spoke extensively on this subject from the earliest days of his revolutionary activity. This collection of his articles provides one of the clearest explanations available of the Marxist position.

Those who, like the SLA, impute all criticism of their ultraleft course to pacifism or personal cowardice should seriously consider Trotsky's experience as organizer of the Bolshevik insurrection in October 1917 and later as creator and head of the Red Army before so light-mindedly dismissing his position.

Such acts as assassinations of hated officials are futile, Trotsky argues, because "the capitalist state does not base itself on government ministers and cannot be eliminated with them. The classes it serves will always find new people. . . ."

But, the terrorist might reply, the bomb I throw will set an example for the masses—it will spark them into action against the entire system.

Just the contrary, Trotsky says: "In our eyes, individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes toward a great avenger and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission."

Today revolutionists have the task of convincing a new generation of rebel youth that liberation and socialism will only be won through mass struggles of the workers and their allies, led by a revolutionary Marxist party, and not through isolated actions of small groups.

We set about this task in the same spirit Trotsky eloquently voices in the final article in this pamphlet. Titled "For Grynspan," it concerns the assassination of a Nazi official in 1938 by Herschel Grynszpan.

"In the moral sense, although not for his mode of action, Grynspan may serve as an example for every young revolutionist," Trotsky writes. "Our open moral solidarity with Grynspan gives us an added right to say to all the other would-be Grynspans, to all those capable of self-sacrifice in the struggle against despotism and bestiality: *Seek another road!* Not the lone avenger but only a great revolutionary mass movement can free the oppressed, a movement that will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation,



SLA's 'Tania.' Modern proponents of terrorism ignore historical evidence that their strategy is ineffective.

national oppression and racial persecution.

"The unprecedented crimes of fascism create a yearning for vengeance that is wholly justifiable. But so monstrous is the scope of their crimes, that this yearning cannot be satisfied by the assassination of isolated fascist bureaucrats. For that it is necessary to set in motion millions, tens and hundreds of millions of the oppressed throughout the whole world and lead them in the assault upon the strongholds of the old society. Only the overthrow of all forms of slavery, only the complete destruction of fascism, only the people sitting in merciless judgment over the contemporary bandits and gangsters can provide real satisfaction to the indignation of the people. This is precisely the task that the Fourth International has set itself. It will cleanse the labor movement of the plague of Stalinism. It will rally in its ranks the heroic generation of the youth. It will cut a path to a worthier and more humane future."

— GENE ANDERSON

Government deception: the politics of lying

The Politics of Lying: Government Deception by David Wise. Random House. New York, 1973. 415 pp. Cloth \$8.95.

The government has been lying to us for quite some time.

Polls show that Americans no longer distrust campus radicals and Black militants, but rather government officials and corporate executives. By May 1971, a Gallup poll indicated that 69 percent of the public felt that the government's reports on the war in Vietnam were inadequate. The revelations surrounding Watergate have widened this credibility gap.

In an episodic manner David Wise's *The Politics of Lying* tells the reader what she or he already knows—that this government is dependent on secrecy and deception. *The Politics of Lying* covers many important subjects. The author traces CIA involvement in Chile during the Allende government, in Guatemala in 1954, and in Indonesia in 1957, among other places. He tells how Adlai Stevenson lied to the United Nations and the press about American involvement in the Bay of Pigs

invasion of Cuba.

Wise is a political writer who has covered the White House scene extensively. From 1951 to 1966 he was a Washington, D. C., correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune*, and became bureau chief in 1963. He has some insight into the wheelings and dealings of the White House and the Pentagon.

Wise uncovers much on the plot by the Justice Department under John Mitchell to extract information from Earl Caldwell, a *New York Times*

Books

reporter who had done a lot of research on the Black Panther Party. Wise places the blame for the throttling and manipulating of the mass media, and for deception and secrecy in general, equally on the Democrats and Republicans.

For example, Wise writes of Lyndon Johnson's good "rapport" with the media chiefs. Johnson could successfully request of NBC head Julian Goodman during the 1964 Democratic national convention not to "show so many Black faces."

Johnson was frequently able to make "announcements" during prime TV time and would often release appropriate "secrets" to the press to combat the popularity of certain political opponents.

Although the book is at times humorous, the author includes an overabundance of trivia and petty intrigues. This approach avoids taking up the overall use of deception to protect a government that not only oppresses and exploits people here but is the central counterrevolutionary force in the world. Wise makes a good start at a discussion of the government's lies to the press over the Mylai massacre and the invasion of the Dominican Republic. But the discussion on these topics is far outweighed by petty investigation into such things as Johnson's and Nixon's exaggerations about their childhood and ancestry.

Much of the information in *The Politics of Lying* has already been used in Wise's previous books — *The U-2 Affair* and *The Invisible Government*. However, it does provide considerable data on a number of other aspects of government secrecy and deception that show the extent to which the capitalist class is prepared to go to maintain its power.

— VAUGHN HOGIKYAN

Officials may have wanted him dead

Was SLA's 'Cinque' a police informer?

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—At a news conference held in San Francisco May 10, a warning was made that if it were up to the Los Angeles police department (LAPD) and certain other officials, Donald (Cinque) DeFreeze, leader of the Symbionese Liberation Army group, would not be captured alive.

The police shootout in Los Angeles just one week later certainly gives credence to the charge that was made. Watching the television coverage of that incredible police attack, it was apparent that no serious effort was made to capture the entrapped SLAers alive.

It was asserted at the San Francisco news conference that DeFreeze had been an informer for several years for the Los Angeles police and for state prison officials. It was also asserted that revelations of such association with DeFreeze could prove so politically embarrassing that these officials wanted him dead.

It was further asserted that the LAPD and then Los Angeles district attorney Evelle Younger had intervened on nine occasions to keep DeFreeze out of prison and prevented

bionese Liberation Army.

But the committee has made available sufficient documentary evidence to establish that on at least one occasion DeFreeze did act as an informant for the LAPD. The record also poses a serious if as yet unanswered question on how he was able to avoid imprisonment for a number of years even though convicted on various occasions of charges that normally would bring heavy sentences. Each time he was arrested he was on probation, and with each new conviction he was simply given an added period of probation.

(It is worth noting that the *New York Times*, which has the resources to check out such matters, did run a story May 17 reporting the facts of DeFreeze's record of encounters with the Los Angeles police. While the *Times* did not credit CRIC, its reporting confirmed the findings made public by CRIC in this regard.)

Both CRIC and the *Times* report that almost all of DeFreeze's arrests involved possession of weapons or bombs or both.

Some of the facts

These are some of the facts reported.

DeFreeze was convicted in June 1967 for possession of two bombs and a pistol. Although he already had a previous record, he was given three years probation.

Six months later, in December 1967, DeFreeze was arrested on the complaint of a prostitute who charged, according to police, that he threatened her with a pistol and demanded money.

The police said that when they arrested DeFreeze they found him in possession of several stolen weapons.

According to the official account, DeFreeze escaped and was recaptured four days later.

Then, police records state, DeFreeze led them to an accomplice, Ronald Coleman. At that time, police assert, they found a cache of 200 stolen weapons.

The cop who arrested DeFreeze was Ronald Farwell, then assigned to a stationhouse in Watts. Subsequently he was assigned to the undercover Criminal Conspiracy Section of the LAPD. (Louis Tackwood alleged that he worked as an informer and provocateur under Farwell's direction. Farwell is now assigned to the "Public Disorder Intelligence Unit," a spinoff of the Criminal Conspiracy Section.)

Following this arrest, DeFreeze was jailed briefly, and psychiatric officials reportedly recommended he be imprisoned because a "fascination with firearms and explosives made him dangerous."

DeFreeze was given an additional five years probation.

Both CRIC and the *New York Times* report indicate that DeFreeze's supplying of information to the LAPD did not end with the Coleman arrest.

In a May 10 statement responding to the CRIC news conference charges, Los Angeles Police Chief Edward Davis denied that DeFreeze had served as an informant for the department. The chief stated that "interviews with our investigative officers indicate that we did not use DeFreeze as an informant except when he volunteered in the '67 case."

Unusual attitude

Be that as it may, there certainly seemed to be an unusual official attitude toward DeFreeze.

During the period of 1968 to 1969, DeFreeze was picked up in the Los Angeles area three times on charges



Donald 'Cinque' DeFreeze during SLA bank holdup.

involving burglary, theft, and gun possession. There was no disposition of these charges.

In May of 1969 DeFreeze was allegedly involved in a kidnapping and extortion case in Newark, N.J. In October of that year in Cleveland he was captured on the roof of a bank building reportedly in possession of a burglar kit and various weapons, including a grenade.

Cleveland officials released him on \$5,000 bond and DeFreeze allegedly jumped bail, returning to California.

A month later, Nov. 17, 1969, he was wounded in an exchange of gunfire outside a Los Angeles Bank of America branch. He was convicted of having stolen a cashier's check and this time was sentenced to prison. According to CRIC, he was sentenced

to a term of five years to life and sent to Vacaville.

It was there that he joined the Black Cultural Association and was permitted to develop his own program within the organization, called Unisight, for the purpose of studying the Black family. Prison visitors, including whites, were permitted to participate, and according to CRIC and the *New York Times* it was from this group that the SLA developed.

In December 1972, DeFreeze was transferred to Soledad. After being there for three months, according to CRIC, he was given an unusual boiler attendant assignment in a minimum-security area of the prison. He escaped the first night on the job.

A prison spokesman denied he was permitted to escape.

Clearly there are many unanswered questions involved in the entire case. Police officials are contributing little to clear them up. In response to the allegations made by CRIC, LAPD Chief Davis, in addition to his somewhat ambiguous denial that DeFreeze was an informer, chose to launch a smear attack on Donald Freed.

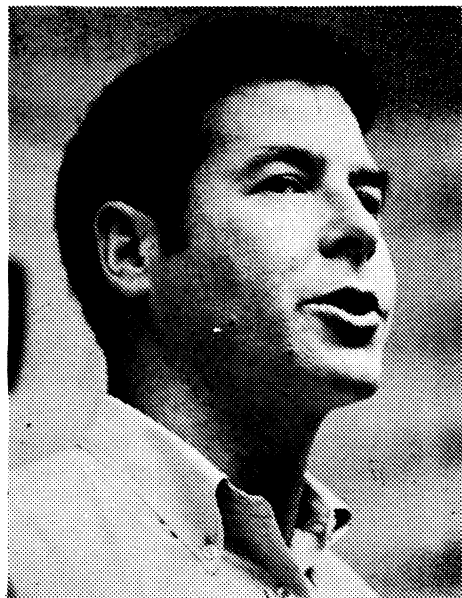
"Donald Freed," Davis said, "was a founding father of the Friends of the Panthers and helped incite that group [the Panthers] in their violent revolutionary activities, which resulted in their arrest and prosecution in this city in 1969."

Translated, that means Freed was active in a group that sought to rally support for the Panthers at a time when police across the country were carrying on a grim campaign to destroy them.

Davis continued to respond with smears when the American Civil Liberties Union protested the police operation in which the six SLAers died.

Davis told reporters he had predicted that the Communist Party would charge the police with excessive conduct, apparently assuming this would suffice to link the ACLU with communism in the public mind.

Chief Davis apparently thinks he's still living in the 1950s.



Donald Freed of Citizens Research and Investigation Committee.

his extradition to New Jersey and Ohio, where he faced charges including kidnapping.

These charges were made at the San Francisco news conference by author Donald Freed and the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee (CRIC), for which Freed is a principal spokesperson.

Freed edited the book *The Glass House Tapes*, which is mainly about Louis Tackwood, who two years ago revealed himself as a Los Angeles police informer and provocateur in the Black liberation movement.

CRIC was established at that time to check out Tackwood's story and make public his revelations and accusations concerning the police.

DeFreeze & LA cops

CRIC has conducted an investigation of the alleged relationship between DeFreeze and the LAPD and other agencies. It has made a number of assertions concerning this relationship, for which it states it has corroborative evidence. It has called for a public investigation and declared it is ready to turn its findings over to an independent investigative body.

Without examining the evidence CRIC says it has gathered, it is impossible to judge the substance of its assertion that the CIA and California police officials contributed directly or indirectly to the formation of the Sym-

Father of slain SLAer demands investigation of cop attack

LOS ANGELES—Dr. L.S. Wolfe, father of slain SLA member William Wolfe, assailed the May 17 police attack on the entrapped SLAers and demanded a public investigation to answer questions about the police attack.

Speaking at a news conference here May 30 sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union, Dr. Wolfe said the FBI on several occasions went out of its way to assure him that if they tracked down the SLAers, "We will never go in with our guns blazing."

He said the FBI told him that if they found his son and the others, they would send for him immediately so that if it were necessary he could try to persuade his son to surrender.

Dr. Wolfe noted that the FBI and Los Angeles police knew at 9 a.m. of the day of the slaughter the area where the victims were. They did not begin their attack until 5:30 that evening. There would have been plenty of time, Wolfe said, to get there from his home in Pennsylvania. But he was never notified.

"Somehow, somebody has got to make enough noise," he declared,



Dr. L.S. Wolfe

Militant/Henry Snipper

"to call an end to this all-American John Wayne pastime of 'shoot 'em up'!"

"Now when I say FBI," he said, "it's because I've had a great deal of contact with the FBI. I've had no personal contact with the Los Angeles police department, but I am not leaving them out of my indictment."

Calendar

BOSTON

WHAT'S BEHIND NORTHERN IRELAND'S PROTESTANT OFFENSIVE? Speakers: Jim Fitzpatrick, activist in Boston Irish movement; Jeanne Lafferty, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general; others. Fri., June 14, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

'ATTICA'—DOCUMENTARY FILM BY CINDA FIRESTONE. Fri., June 14, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK CITY

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN STREET RALLIES AND DAY OF CAMPAIGNING, SAT., JUNE 15. Speakers: New York State SWP candidates. Lower Manhattan: 12 noon: Delancey & Ludlow; 2 p.m.: May's (Broadway & 14th St.); Upper West Side: 12 noon: 110th St. & Broadway; 2 p.m.: 72nd St. & Broadway; Brooklyn: 11:30 a.m.: Williamsburg (Flushing & Graham); Bedford-Stuyvesant (Fulton & Nostrand). Ausp: New York State Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE MOVEMENT TO IMPEACH NIXON: A SOCIALIST APPRAISAL. Speaker: Larry Seigle, editorial staff, The Militant. Fri., June 14, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Thurs., June 13, 7:30 p.m.: Why Stalinism triumphed in the USSR. Tues., June 18, 7:30 p.m.: Internationalism vs. socialism in one country. 2726 Broadway (near 104th St.) Donation: 50 cents per class. Ausp: Upper West Side Summer School. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PITTSBURGH

THE SLA: WHY SOCIALISTS OPPOSE TERRORISM. Speaker: Dan Rosenheim, former editor, South of the River and member, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 14, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. (in Oakland). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SERIES. Black liberation and socialism. Mon., June 10, 7:30 p.m.: Second American revolution: Civil War and Reconstruction; Sat., June 15, 11 a.m.: Africa and Black liberation, class I; 2 p.m.: Africa and Black liberation, class II. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$6 for entire summer series; \$3 per course; 50 cents per individual class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...AIM

Continued from page 9

defense of the Indian struggle.

Meanwhile, in federal court June 3, Judge Nichol threatened the defendants

with contempt of court if another attempt was made at a citizen's arrest inside the St. Paul federal building.

Last week the defendants tried without success to make a citizen's arrest of an FBI agent after he left the witness stand. The agent had earlier testified that he monitored a phone at Wounded Knee last year, which Nichol had declared illegal in April.

...CLUW

Continued from page 13

speakers bureau of women to go before union meetings to explain the origins of CLUW and urge union women to become involved.

The program committee is responsible for planning the educational programs for upcoming meetings.

Plans for future activities include a meeting on organizing the unorganized, a one-day workshop on sex discrimination, and a fund-raising party.

Many women in the D.C. Area CLUW have been in the union movement for several years. Others, particularly the younger women, have been involved in women's liberation groups but are relatively new to the union movement. Both have found a need for an organization like CLUW and are excited about the prospect for building it.

...ballot

Continued from page 17

drive May 29. TV stations and newspapers in both Philadelphia and Pittsburgh carried reports on the drive, which aims to collect 65,000 signatures by the end of June. Another news conference is slated for Pittsburgh on June 5, to launch the petitioning effort in that city.

Ballot drives are also under way in Indiana and Illinois. Campaign supporters in Indiana have already collected 700 of the 3,200 signatures they plan to file to place Harold Schlechtweg, SWP candidate in the 7th C.D., and Greg Peterson, SWP candidate in the 11th C.D., on the Indiana ballot.

Bloomington petitioners report that many Indiana University students who

sign are already familiar with the socialists through the recent Young Socialist campaign for student government on that campus.

Although petitioning officially begins in Illinois June 8, campaign supporters have already collected 7,182 signatures toward their goal of 43,000 statewide. More than 4,000 of these have come from a special full-time team in East St. Louis.

Dave Wulp, a member of the East St. Louis team, reports an especially good response from the Black community. "And many people," he adds, "are outraged to learn that the SWP is not on the ballot automatically, as the Democrats and Republicans are. They sign because they agree that socialists have the right to be on the ballot."

...strike

Continued from page 24

clothing workers unions (the Amalgamated and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union) are now largely Puerto Rican and Black. The leaderships remain lily-white.

A number of workers thought this strike was a sign that the new union officials elected in 1972, headed by Murray Finley, would do a better job of representing them than the old leaders.

Contributing to militancy in the union is its recent victory after a long strike against Farah Manufacturing Company in Texas. The strike was for union recognition and involved mostly Chicanas.

The first day of the current strike there was no organized picketing here and no signs were prepared. Even now there are only a handful of pickets outside most shops—up to 40 or 50 in a few places. "We're not too well organized," a picket confided, almost apologetically. "You know, we haven't been out on strike in 53 years."

Most workers are told simply to stay home and not come back to work until they see on TV that the strike is settled.

Even though the union leadership has not mobilized the full power of the ranks, the struck companies have been effectively shut down. The industry is highly organized and there is no ready source of skilled workers

to scab. Nor are the employers attempting to bring in scabs at this time.

A more serious problem for the strikers is that they are not receiving any strike benefits, at least not yet. Without benefits, several workers commented, they won't be able to stay out for long. One older man said he was already trying to get on welfare.

This is in spite of the fact that the Amalgamated is a wealthy union. According to the *New York Times*, it "owns two banks, two insurance companies, four cooperative housing projects and has substantial investments in Government securities."

The clothing workers' strike is the first industrywide strike by any union this year. It is an important sign of the growing determination of working people—especially the lowest-paid—to defend their standard of living from inflation's bite.

By LEA TAMMI

PHILADELPHIA—"I'll stay out here for 20 years to get the cost-of-living clause in our contract." This is the overwhelming sentiment of clothing workers picketing at Joseph Cohen men's clothing factory here.

This plant, located in the garment district of North Philadelphia, is one of the largest in the country and employs 3,000 of the 18,000 Amalgamated Clothing Workers members in the city. This is where picket lines have been the largest and most spirited.

"No one here gets \$3.50 an hour," said one striker, referring to the "average wage" figure cited in the capitalist press. "Everyone's lying about that. I took home \$46 last week and I've been working here 28 years. We need that \$1.40 increase and we've learned since the last contract that we have to have a cost-of-living clause written in."

Most workers estimated that their average take-home pay was \$65 a week at Joseph Cohen.

A large proportion of the pickets are Black and Puerto Rican, and the majority of those marching every day are women.

One woman who had been laid off her job for "talking too much" told *The Militant*, "Our bosses are men and the union leadership is men. We've got to have some women in the leadership to represent us."

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Six dead after murderous explosions

Colo. Chicanos demand investigation of bombings

By PETER SEIDMAN

DENVER—Leaders of the Chicano movement in Colorado are demanding a full investigation into the explosions on May 27 and 29 that took the lives of six people, four of them Chicano activists, in Boulder.

Both explosions occurred in parked cars. The police are portraying the deaths as the result of the premature explosion of bombs that were being assembled by the activists. But many here believe there is evidence that the bombings were another murderous, planned attack on the Colorado Chicano movement.

Most prominent of those killed was Florencio Granado, 31, who was the Raza Unida Party candidate for Colorado University board of regents in

1972. Granado had been president of the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS) at Colorado University in Boulder. He was a well-known activist in the campaign to recall Democratic City Councilman Eugene DiManna of Denver's North Side, as part of an effort to win Chicano control of the Chicano community.

Also killed on May 29 were Heriberto Terán, an activist in a program for Chicano former convicts, and Francisco Dougherty. A friend of Terán, Dougherty was not politically active, according to his family.

The three victims of the May 27 explosion were Reyes Martínez, a lawyer with the Colorado Rural Legal Services; Neva Romero, a UMAS member in Boulder who was recently

active in efforts to win bilingual and bicultural education in the elementary schools; and Una Jaakola, a close friend of Martínez. Jaakola was known by her friends to be apolitical.

Reyes Martínez was the brother of Francisco Martínez, also a Chicano lawyer, who has been the target of a police manhunt for several months in a frame-up campaign that seeks to link him to earlier bombing incidents.

A seventh victim of the bombings, Antonio Alcantar, is in serious condition.

Evidence suppressed

In Boulder a judge and the police department have clamped a suppression order on all evidence uncovered by investigators. This, along with contradictory police and press accounts of the bombings, has led to the demand for a full public investigation into the deaths.

At a May 31 news conference held at the headquarters of the Crusade for Justice, a Chicano community organization here, Crusade leader Corky Gonzales explained, "We have reason to suspect conspiracy in these deaths. . . . The odds of six people being killed and one critically injured in two separate instances, within 48 hours, in the same city, are astronomical."

More than 200 people, including many leaders of Chicano organizations, attended the news conference to express support for the Crusade statement. These included José Calderón



Militant/Dave Warren

Crusade for Justice leader Corky Gonzales told news conference, "We have reason to believe we are dealing with highly skilled killers."

and José Gonzales, cochairmen of the Colorado Raza Unida Party; Ernesto Vigil, RUP candidate for state senate, District 2; Chuck Koehler of the Escuela Aztlán; and representatives of the United Farm Workers, La Raza Park Committee, the National Chicano Welfare Rights Organization, and others.

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YSA sends solidarity message

In response to the killings in Boulder, Young Socialist Alliance National Chairman Andrew Pulley sent a letter to the Denver Crusade for Justice June 3. "On behalf of the Young Socialist Alliance I wish to express our solidarity with the Chicano movement of Colorado. . . .," Pulley said.

The YSA leader urged support for every effort to uncover the facts of the car bombings. Pulley noted that the tragic deaths in Boulder have been preceded by a pattern of vicious attacks on the Colorado Chicano movement, including "the

March 17, 1973, police raid on the Crusade that led to the death of Luis 'Junior' Martínez, and frame-ups such as those of Crusade activist Ernesto Vigil, movement lawyer Frank Martínez, and Colorado Raza Unida Party co-chairman José Calderón."

Pulley placed the blame for these attacks on "the rulers of this country, who have sponsored racism against the Chicanos and who have carried out a campaign of violence and repression against the movimiento."

Garment workers strike for a living wage

By REBECCA FINCH and ANDY ROSE

NEW YORK, June 5—The skyrocketing cost of living is the main reason 110,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers went on strike June 1 in the union's first industrywide walkout since 1921.

When the previous contract expired

May 31, clothing manufacturers refused to meet the union's demands for a cost-of-living escalator clause, an average \$1.10 an hour wage increase over the next three years, and improved pensions and other benefits.

The strike has shut down 750 manufacturers of men's and boy's wear. The biggest concentrations of strikers

are in New York City and Philadelphia; there are also significant numbers in Illinois, Virginia, Missouri, Kentucky, and New Jersey.

At *Militant* press time, chief federal mediator W.J. Usery had summoned negotiators for the union and the manufacturers to his Washington, D.C., office for secret talks.

Pickets in New York's garment district are quick to explain that their wages have lagged so far behind prices that they are now among the lowest-paid workers in the city.

A skilled worker with 37 years in the industry told *The Militant* that at \$4.50 an hour he is one of the highest-paid in his shop on 23rd Street.

Many Puerto Rican women who work in the same shop are getting only \$2 or \$2.25 an hour. They may take home \$80 or \$90 a week. Others are on the piecework system, which means constant pressure to speed up.

"We didn't necessarily want to go out now," said another striker. "It's just before vacations, and this will hurt us. But we just can't make a

living any more. Our last three-year raise was eaten up the first year after the contract was settled. We have the best chance of putting pressure on them now, because this is when the fall clothing is being cut."

An escalator clause is important, one worker said, so that they don't just keep losing every raise to inflation as in the past. New York City transit workers won an escalator clause earlier this spring, and the demand is now being taken up by ever-wider sections of the union movement.

Pensions, too, are grossly inadequate. "My father worked in this industry for 50 years," a striker told *The Militant*. "And you know what he gets for a pension? Eighty-five dollars a month!"

Clothing workers on the picket lines did not know exactly what the contract demands were. These are always kept secret by the union officials, they said, and only announced after a contract is settled.

Once predominantly Jewish, the

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Militant/Jo Hendrickson